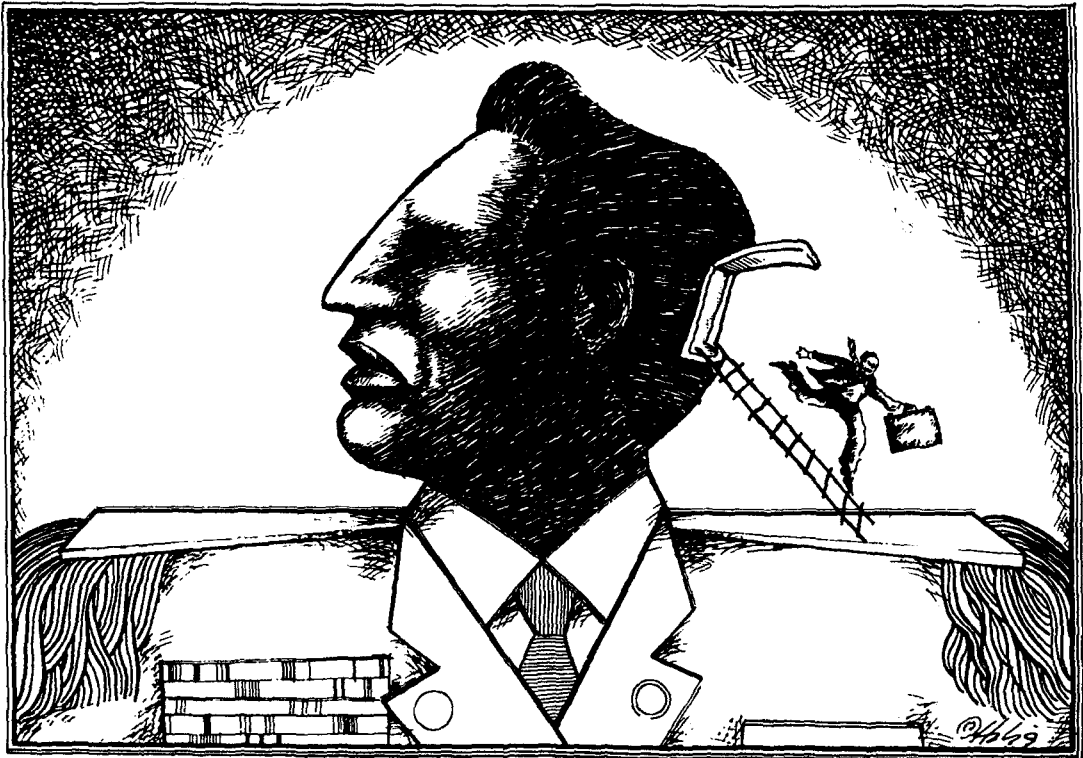


NUMBER 256
MAY-JUNE 1986

The Progressive Review



**What We Don't Know
About Our Nuclear Plants**

**JUST WHEN YOU
UNDERSTOOD WATERGATE
Nicaragua in Quotes**

The Weather Report

Peace

A majority of the nation's physicists opposes the "Star Wars" project, a new national survey of 549 physicists indicates.

During the last year, almost 3,000 professors -- many of them physicists -- have signed pledges not to take SDI research funds.

But SDI's research chief says that, despite surveys and petitions, his office has had no problems distributing the research money.

The Union of Concerned Scientists, an anti-Star Wars group, commissioned the nationwide study conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates Inc., an independent polling service in Washington.

"We selected physicists [to ask about SDI] because they are closest to the necessary technology," UCS spokeswoman Ellen Dudley says.

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EDITOR: Sam Smith

CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS:

Charles McDowell, Chuck Stone, Eugene McCarthy, Des Wilson, Mike Bell

CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Nick Holdsworth

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By a margin of 54 percent to 29 percent, the physicists said SDI is a mistake.

But James Lonson, SDI's director of science of technology, dismisses the survey as a poll of people who wouldn't know much about the necessary technology anyway.

"It's aimed at people out of their arena," he says.

Lonson thinks engineers and computer scientists -- people more familiar with applied technology than physicists -- would have been better able to judge whether SDI weapons eventually can be workable.

Sixty-three percent of the physicists who said they know about the new kinds of technology SDI would require described the program "as a step in the wrong direction for America's national security policy."

UCS's legislative analyst Charles Monfort hopes to use the survey to help convince Congress that the scientific community generally opposes space weapons.

"Most people on Capitol Hill are lawyers and businessmen, not scientists," he notes, adding the politicians who have not made up their minds on the SDI "will give it [the survey] some weight."

With federal funding for research getting increasingly scarce, the temptation to accept SDI money rises.

During the 1986 fiscal year, Lonson will award about \$100 million in research grants, with more than \$60 million going to universities.

And while large numbers of professors at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell, Princeton, Michigan State and Illinois led the way in refusing to accept SDI funds, Lonson's not too worried about finding scientists to take the research grants.

He says his office received 3,000 proposals for research projects this fiscal year, but only could fund about 400 of them.

"Nobody (who has applied) has refused a dime from us," he notes.

And of the raging debate about the weapons, Ionson asserts, "The controversy underscores the need for research." - CPS

A memorial to those who died opposing the Vietnam war is being planned by a Arizona taxi company owner, reports the current issue of Mother Jones. Terry Choate's privately financed memorial will commemorate Americans who died in the war protests at home -- people like Alice Herz, Norman Morrison, and Roger La Porte, who set themselves on fire in 1965 to protest against the war.

Choate has already been besieged with so much hate mail from veterans that he is asking for special protection from the local sheriff's office for a ceremony when he plans to raise the American and Vietnamese flags on the site.

And flak has come from peace activists who criticise Choate for not discussing his plans with vets before announcing them.

But Choate is undeterred: "The monument will serve as a reminder of the power of the little person who fights for peace in obscurity."

Health

Government and labor officials in Japan and Sweden are taking a second look at video display terminals in the wake of studies linking regular VDT use to birth disorders among operators.

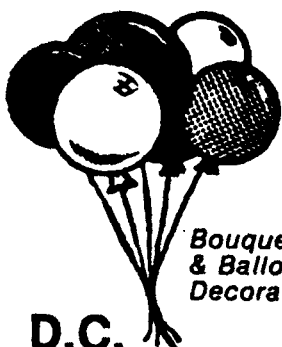
Sohyo, the Japanese general council of trade unions, is advising women to stop using VDTs when pregnant. The council has issued that warning after conducting a survey of more than 12,000 female and male workers, 80 percent of whom had worked with video display terminals for an average of two-and-a-half years. Of the 250 women who had been pregnant while using the VDTs, 36 percent reported experiencing "abnormalities" of some sort; 27 percent reported complications during pregnancy; and 20 percent suffered miscarriages, premature births or other

abnormal deliveries. The survey also showed the frequency of problems increased in proportion to the amount of time spent operating terminals: among workers using VDTs less than one hour a day, 25 percent reported problems, but among workers who sat in front of the terminals for more than six hours a day, 64 percent reported problems.

Similar concerns are being raised in Sweden, thanks to a study on radiation from VDTs that resulted in lab mice developing severe birth defects. Sweden's government has reacted to the study by holding up plans to buy 8,000 computer terminals. Officials are now requiring bidding companies to supply information on radiation and safety shields before making a final decision on a supplier.

A handful of US corporations are moving to help female employees head off any PMS-related work problems. Levi Strauss is offering workshops on the causes and treatment of the syndrome. Lotus Development and Westinghouse are running similar programs. One firm, Control Data, reimburses employees for PMS medication.

But most businesses still don't give PMS the recognition it merits. A Manhattan doctor -- male -- who regularly treats women with the syndrome reckons that if it were a



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male problem: "We would have a much better acceptance."

Jane Trimble of the Minneapolis PMS clinic says the way to make corporations aware is by demonstrating the economics of PMS: some researchers claim it costs American industry 8 percent of its outlay in wages. Companies will come round "once we show them the dollars and cents involved."

Fund raising

Republican definition of charity: something that's apolitical and probably harmless. The Federal Office of Personnel Management supervises the annual charity drive held by federal employees, the Combined Federal Campaign. It has revised the regulations governing the charity payroll deductions so that only traditional health and welfare charities can benefit. Charities or organizations engaged in political action or legal advocacy have been banned.

Last year \$130 million was raised from contributions of 4

I believe that if we would keep our dirty, bloody, dollarsoaked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own ... and if unfortunately their revolution must be of the violent type because the 'haves' refuse to share with the 'have-nots' by any peaceful method, at least what they get will be their own, and not the American style, which they don't want and above all don't want crammed down their throats by Americans.

--Gen. Davis M. Shoup, Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps (1960-1963); winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor for World War II heroism; 14 May 66.

million federal employees. Several hundred charities benefited.

The restrictions on who benefits comply with an executive order signed by President Reagan in 1983. Groups such as the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Gray Panthers and United Handicapped Federation will no longer receive funds from the charity drive.

According to a national poll, 72% of what Americans give to charity goes to religious groups.

Economics

Black owned businesses are finding it harder to stay out of the red. Although the number of businesses owned by blacks went up 47 percent between 1977 and 1982, their annual receipts dropped ten percent. Researchers blame today's integrated economy. They say many black-owned businesses were founded in the era of segregation. When racial barriers eroded during the sixties and seventies, captive markets disappeared -- creating inevitable problems for black businesses.

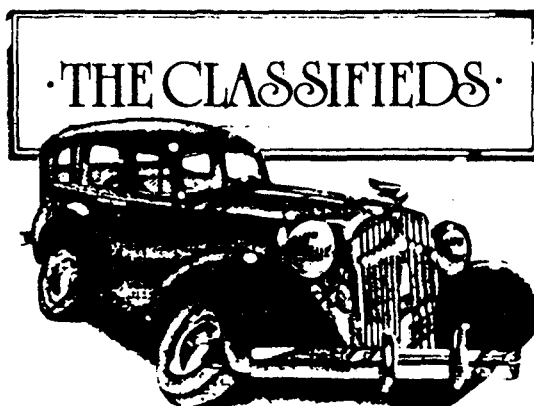
A credit card with a conscience has been introduced in San Francisco by a group called "Working Assets". For socially responsible spenders it donates 5 cents to organizations like Greenpeace, Amnesty International and the Sierra Club, every time you buy something. It's a Visa card with a vision, produced with the aid of Boston's State Street Bank.

The sexes

Casper Weinberger said last month that he could never support the idea of women serving in combat: "Either I'm too old-fashioned or something

else is wrong with me, but I simply feel that is not a proper utilization. And I think, again to be perfectly frank about it and spread all of my old-fashioned views before you, I think women are too valuable to be in combat."

Female pensioners are worse off than male pensioners. The National Commission on Working Women states that in 1984 the median annual income from all sources for women aged 65 and over was \$6,020 -- just 57% of the median income for men of the same age, \$10,450.



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DC HOTLINE is looking for people to work as volunteers for new phoneline for children who are at home alone after school. Call 223-CALL.

CAPITAL AREA COMMUNITY FOOD BANK needs volunteers. Call 526-5344.

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PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY: Good for networking, publicity, subscription details on 400 periodicals about peace, health, environment, culture, international ... entire left. \$4. From Box E-120574, Nashville 37212.

THE COUPLE NEXT DOOR magazine. Sample copy \$10 (refunded), sign over 21. CND, POB 47081-KW, Atlanta, GA 30362.

PRINCETON GOVERNMENT SUMMER INTERNS need inexpensive accommodations mid June to end August. Send listings --location, price, space available, whom to contact to Minnie Reed, Director, Career Services, Clio Hall, Princeton NJ 08544.

JUST US, a dating magazine exclusively for women wanting to meet women. \$10 (refunded) for details and sample copy to JU, POB 60521-MZ, Atlanta, GA 30341

NUKE REAGAN bumperstickers. \$1 and stamp. Box 152, Dearborn Heights, Mich 48127

Income from pensions for women in the group amounts to only a median of \$2,790 a year compared to \$5,805 received by men. And nearly 80% of women receive no income from employer-provided pensions. Men are twice as likely to receive pensions.

Women don't get pensions for a number of reasons:

- Many small businesses don't provide pensions.
- Employers may exclude categories of workers from pension plans. Women make up a large proportion of the excluded groups - clerical workers, part-timers, hourly workers and older workers.
- The time required to earn a right to a pension is usually ten years. Since women often leave the labor force temporarily for family responsibilities, or have to move from one employer to another, their credits towards a pension are often lost.

Information about working women and pensions can be obtained from the National Commission on Working Women, 1325 G Street, Lower Level Washington DC 20005. Telephone 202-737-5764.

Women power toppled President Ferdinand Marcos and his regime in the Philippines, according to the female manager of Corry Aquino's media campaign - but it was by no means a feminist victory; Aquino's devout Catholicism militates against this.

Lupita Aquino Kashiwahara, now a TV producer in San Francisco, is Aquino's sister-in-law. "Women played a significant part in the election," she says. Aquino's inner circle of advisers included her mother-in-law and Cecelia Munox Palma, the first woman to be appointed to the Philippine Supreme Court. Her sister and daughter also played their parts. Kashiwahara says the 13-year-old girl was the "number one campaigner; she was so

popular with the masses they were always calling for her." Crucial to the campaign were the thousands of women who got the vote out for the new president in scores of villages. "Cory's Crusaders" employed sophisticated tactics to get their message across: they decked the Philippine countryside with blankets, towels and slips in Aquino's campaign color, yellow, and tore up hundreds of telephone books for yellow confetti. Video tapes of Aquino's speeches were lugged around with video players to show to villagers.

The election mobilized women, but was not a feminist movement, says Kashiwahara. As a devout Catholic she "would not touch with a 10-foot-pole" issues such as abortion or divorce. "People don't see her as a woman or a man. She is a symbol, and symbols have no gender. Both men and women have accepted her because she is the opposite of Marcos - - she is a strong moral leader."

A good divorce may be better for your health than a bad marriage. So says a study by Doctors Janice Kiecolt-Glaser and Ron Glaser of Ohio State University. The researchers came to the conclusion after comparing the natural immune cell strengths - - thought to be a key defense against viral infections and cancer - - in 38 married women and 38 who were separated or divorced. They found that women separated a year or less had up to one-third lower cell strengths. They also found, however, that unhappily married women had the same low cell strength as the most discontented separated women. Says Kiecolt-Glaser: "There's a reasonable possibility you could endanger your health by staying in a bad marriage."

Researchers from California and Texas say the Social Security Act, written when the average married couple consisted of an employed husband and a stay-at-home wife, actually leaves women with little or no benefits.

Study co-author David Kirp says divorced women end up with the least. In fact, he says, if a divorce occurs before a marriage reaches its tenth anniversary, the woman has no dependent rights to a share in her mate's pension benefits. And if a marriage does last at least 10 years before the man's next marriage, the next wife gets no pension benefits.

The solution, suggest Kirp and his co-authors, is to split a couple's pension benefits equally for each year and credit the money to two accounts so full-time homemakers aren't left out in the cold after divorce or widowhood.

A new study on women's economic status finds that women's salaries have more than doubled since 1959, from \$4,000 a year to \$9,000 in 1983, but Stanford economics professor Victor Fuchs says that gain comes mainly from women's longer working hours. Says Fuchs: "the average man still earns almost 50 percent more per hour than does the average woman of the same race, age and education."

On April 11th, a federal judge gave final approval to a \$482 million settlement in the landmark comparable worth lawsuit that will raise the pay of 35,000 state employees in women-dominated jobs in Washington state. Of the resolution of the four-year-long legal action, US District Judge Jack Tanner said, "The state of Washington, the governor, the attorney general, the state legislators and the negotiators have actually pulled off a miracle. I don't know how you've done it."

Ecology

Shoppers in Italy won't be bringing home the pasta in plastic bags much longer. The government has banned the use of any non-biodegradable plastic or other packaging material, starting in 1991. Italy is the first country in the world to prohibit plastic bags. Even paper bags must be made from material that's already recycled. Major backers of the new law: The tourist industry.

Geologists are warning that the minor tremors which have hit New York City in recent months may be just a hint of future shocks. Construction of a new water tunnel into Manhattan has uncovered hundreds of active seismic faults under the East River. The last sizeable quake to the Big Apple was over a century ago, but scientists say it could happen again. If it does, they say, it would be a major disaster.

International Wildlife reports that between now and the end of the century, more species will become extinct than at any time since the death of the dinosaurs.

Housing

The cost of renting is going up faster than most renters' income. The Census Bureau says rents paid by people who just moved increased 134% in the last 10 years. By comparison, their incomes went up only 67%. That means rent now digs twice as deep into the average paycheck.

Civil liberties

The American Civil Liberties Union warns that restrictions being prepared by the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography are so harsh they could throw the country back into the "sexual dark ages." ACLU legislative counsel Barry Lynn says the commission's recommendations could kill off all X-rated films, R-rated horror films and possibly any popular films with sexual themes. Lynn also says the commission is considering support for a ban of cable TV broadcasts of films containing nude scenes, although the panel's executive director says the commission has made "absolutely no findings" on that point.

California Governor George Deukmejian has signed into law a bill that changes the definition of obscenity to include material that "lacks significant literary, artistic, political, educational or scientific value." The current law merely defines obscenity as "utterly without redeeming social importance." Supporters of the new law claim current standards make it impossible to prosecute pornographers without resorting to statutes

on prostitution and pandering, but the film industry and other critics of the new proposal say it will stifle freedom of expression.

Refugees

The number of refugees in the world climbed to more than 10 million in 1985, according to the *World Refugee Survey--1985 in Review* of the U.S. Committee for Refugees.

Few of the world's refugee problems have been resolved in recent years, according to the *Survey*, and many western countries, including the United States, are adopting more restrictive policies toward those seeking asylum.

The *Survey* notes that in many parts of the world, refugees have remained in uncertain circumstances--unable to return to their

homes or be settled permanently either in their countries of asylum or third countries. Stays of many years--Afghan refugees in Pakistan, Ethiopians in the Sudan and Somalia, Salvadorans in Honduras, Palestinians in the Middle East--have become the norm.

Much of the burden of providing prolonged refuge is carried by some of the poorest nations in the world, according to the *Survey*. That hospitality, though, depends upon the assistance provided by the international community. The United States has been the leading donor to international refugee assistance, as well as the leading country of refugee resettlement, but the *Survey* notes that U.S. practices toward people from the western hemisphere seeking asylum have been less generous. Info: USCR, 202-667-0782

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF REFUGEES

Country	Number
Afghanistan	3,486,000
Palestine	2,093,500
Ethiopia	1,287,000

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF LATIN AMERICAN REFUGEES

El Salvador	252,000
Guatemala	48,000
Nicaragua	43,000
Chile	30,000
Argentina	10,000

1985 CONTRIBUTIONS TO REFUGEE AID PER CAPITA

Norway	\$4.43
Denmark	\$2.98
Sweden	\$2.37
Switzerland	\$2.09
United States	\$0.80

Source: 1985 World
Refugee Survey

1986

Two school systems in Florida have been giving lie detector tests to students accused of misdoings. One of the systems, the Polk County school district, with some 58,000 students, has administered about 1,000 polygraph tests over the last five years. The district stopped giving the tests recently after newspaper reports about the practice.

A nuclear power company in Georgia has a special hotline so employees can tip off management about colleagues they suspect are using drugs. The rule is that if you are informed upon, you have to take a urine test. If you refuse you are fired. Five former employees have filed a complaint with the US Labor Dept., saying they were really fired because they warned about safety and construction problems. The ACLU says their firings violated a law protecting whistle blowers at nuclear plants.

What we don't know about American nuclear plants

BILLIE GARDE & TOM DEVINE

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Maybe at Chernobyl they needed a whistle blower. But if Americans want the truth about nuclear accidents waiting to happen here, let alone those that have already occurred, maybe we'd better start listening to ours.

The U.S. nuclear industry asserts that democracy gives us a safety edge over the Russians. After all, our laws require the government to assure an open flow of information, through full disclosure of all possible safety hazards and the freedom of speech for nuclear workers to tell the truth, even if their employers don't.

Unfortunately, the Reagan Administration has "Sovietized" regulation of the atom: nuclear power has regressed to a closed industry and the government hasn't even told the public what has hit us already.

Some of the deception is about risks at nuclear power plants under construction, such as the Zimmer facility outside of Cincinnati, O. During the 1970s, Nuclear Regulatory Control (NRC) managers ignored warnings from inspectors that the plant was out of control and reassured the public that it met all legal safety standards.

After Zimmer was 90 percent complete, and frightened whistle blowers started to expose the dangers, the government only conceded paper work problems and continued to deny gross hardware deficiencies such as "nuclear grade steel purchased at junk yards."

Luckily, workers kept telling the whole truth and the coverup collapsed. Zimmer was abandoned as a nuclear facility and grand juries began investigating both government and industry.

The NRC promised to do better, but after a few more plant closures, the Reagan Administration reneged. The first betrayal was at Diablo Canyon in California, a plant built on top of an earthquake fault and the scene of another industry blooper that sparked ill-fated reform.

A whistle blower revealed the engineering blueprints were backwards at the plant which the NRC had approved for operation. In late 1983, 100 workers raised over 2,000 allegations of shoddy quality. At first the NRC responded. Officials confirmed charges of document destruction, manipulation of results, and widespread errors in the plant's earthquake review, topped by 16,000 illegal "quick fix" design changes.

But when the flood of allegations became a tidal wave, the bureaucrats decided the problem was the whistle blowers rather than the violations they challenged. Instead of inspecting, the government turned over the evidence to the corporate targets of the charges, adopted the utility's predictable denials, and abandoned the dissenters to harrassments, which included death threats by the time the plant was licensed.

At the Waterford plant outside New Orleans in 1985, the government muzzled the whistle blowers who sought to reveal massive safety violations in

construction. Only after the plant was safely licensed did the public discover how bad things at Waterford actually were.

Diablo Canyon and Waterford have become the models for the government to prevent the public from knowing the truth about the sorry condition of our own reactors and to prevent the nuclear labor force from leaking the truth.

Within the last year the government has also ignored significant safety questions about the Perry plant near Cleveland, Ohio, which received the blessings of the NRC only weeks after an earthquake rocked the plant, endangering its safety systems; and the Wolf Creek plant in Kansas, where hundreds of workers dared to take thousands of safety concerns of falsification of documents, bad welding, and significant construction defects to management, trying to ensure that the safety concerns were not ignored. Unfortunately they were.

These are the American Chernobyls waiting to happen. The accidents will be explained in the future by the all too familiar bureaucratic apologists as an unfortunate oversight.

But the brazen deception also involves actual accidents and radiation leaks that we weren't supposed to know about.

At the Hanford facility in Washington, there was a deliberate release of radioactive iodine that blew over eastern Oregon and Washington state during an experiment in December, 1949. Calculations show that the amount of radioactive iodine was 1000 times the contamination that was released during the Three Mile Island accident in 1979.

At the Fernauld uranium processing plant near Cincinnati, Ohio, local residents learned in 1985 that drinking water supplies were contaminated with radiation 15 times higher than EPA guidelines. The government and Fernauld management knew about the contamination for four years before alerting the citizens affected by it.

Recent revelations also show that Fernauld has pumped at least 215,000 pounds of uranium dust into the air and 170,000 pounds of uranium into the water over its 30 year history.

For years the secrecy was so great around the facility that even local residents thought the weapons production center was a cattle food production plant.

In January of this year, after an accidental release of uranium gas had killed one worker at the Kerr McGee uranium processing facility in Oklahoma, the government permitted the release of the remaining radioactive gasses. The cloud floated over houses and an elementary school within miles of the facility.

No one from the company or the government warned the residents. Only after a worker made an anonymous call did anyone know of the release.

The ignorance of the public in Gore, Oklahoma, or Cincinnati, Ohio, seems as ludicrous as the ignorance of the residents of Kiev. As in the Soviet Union, the nuclear industry in the U.S. has much to learn about the "right to know" of its citizens.

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Roses to the Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, which observes its fifth anniversary this month. This extremely useful organization puts out a newsletter and various publications. Info: CCHW, Box 926, Arlington VA 22216.

The homegrown economy

NICK HOLDSWORTH

The concept of the self-reliant city has been sprung from the pages of futuristic eco-system scenarios and put into practice in the Minnesota state capitol, St Paul. The city mayor, George Latimer, has set up a project to encourage economic growth from within the city, using native resources, rather than waiting for aid from outside agencies. The 'Homegrown Economy,' designed with help from the DC based Institute for Local Self Reliance, is sponsoring initiatives ranging from turning 50,000 tons of diseased elm trees and timber cuttings into wood chips for the downtown heating system, to building 7,000 acres of community workshop, recreational and industrial space 40 feet below the city streets.

'The Homegrown Economy' takes a holistic view of urban planning. First detailed in a 1983 mayoral policy memorandum, it envisions a locally owned economy where neighborhoods and employees have a stake and a say. Last fall a \$40,000 publicity campaign financed by the city's port authority, was launched to awaken townspeople to the benefits of the project. Interest was patchy when the project was first announced in 1983, but has grown since people have seen what is being attempted.

Self Reliance consultant David Morris said: "St Paul is trying to engage the entire city in a new form of behavior. St Paul is trying to look at its city as a living organism and a system whose parts are interconnected. No other city that I know of is looking systematically in this fashion."

Although the Homegrown Economy visibly consists of projects, it is, according to Mayor Latimer, "a process; a way of looking at things. And the commitment has to be there for nothing less than an education, an effort of educating, inspiring and supporting the community in looking at the way it works."

As the state capital, St Paul isn't the poorest or most problem-beset of comparably sized cities. Its low level of unemployment and ability to attract federal grants means that it has many external resources. But the tradition of doing things for themselves is strong, and has helped the Homegrown Economy to take root.

As a first step St Paul is addressing the needs and problems of the small and diverse body of businesses in the city. A small business incubator facility has been established. \$600,000 of federal job creation funds were used to set it up. An immediate benefit of the facility was renting out small workshop and office space at low cost. Many small businesses fail at the outset because of the difficulty they encounter in renting space to suit their often insubstantial needs. Help is also being provided local companies in bidding for government contracts. The stability of government orders can give businesses the confidence to expand, and create employment. And like many of the projects in the the 'Homegrown Economy,' the government contract procurement program is self-financing: loans have been raised from the business community and companies successful in their bids pay a 3 percent commission.

Illustrations of this approach include the microbrewery the city has helped set up. The Summit Brewery started with a low-interest seed loan of \$50,000. Producing just thousands of barrels of distinctive tasting local brew each year, as opposed to the tens of millions rolling off the production lines of the large commercial brewers, its costs are only a marginal 20 percent higher. With a good flavor and only slightly higher price the beer should compete favorably with both home and imported labels.

Another radical idea is low cost underground space for commercial and recreational use. Dust and vibration free, with a constant temperature of 55 degrees, a potential 7,000 acre area beneath downtown could relieve development pressure on the surface and release other spaces for more imaginative or community use.

Other innovations range from a Homegrown labeling system that would rate different products and services according to how much they contribute to the local economy. "The labeling campaign is to get people aware of where they put their money and the impact that has on the local economy," says David Morris. Another concept is the 'Rule of Thumb' campaign. It provides people with tid-bits of information useful in day to day living, such as how much a second-hand car part should cost relative to the new part. (The

answer is 60 percent.) And then there is the proposal to bring inventors and the idea of invention to the public school system. Morris: "We would like to develop an invention curriculum. Inventors have told us they have had workshops with 9, 10 and 11 year olds and found them to be quite responsive and inventive. People often don't realise that an invention is a better way of doing something. Many of us have our own inventions in every day life -- but we don't often share it, and we rarely market it."

The Homegrown Economy epitomizes the sane approach to the mixed economy. The municipal corporation acts as a catalyst for expansion and opportunity in private business. At the same time greater worker participation and employee ownership is encouraged. The concept sees participation as a healthy and integral part of the economy.

Inventiveness is an integral part of the American soul. A nation of tinkerers is how Ben Franklin saw America two centuries ago. The 'Homegrown Economy' project in St Paul shows that tinkering is still going on.

For more information on The Homegrown Economy contact the Institute for Local Self Reliance, 2425 18th Street NW Washington DC 20009. # 202-232-4108.

In the last issue we mentioned the lack of support Samuel Elliot Morison has received from press groups in his appeal of an espionage conviction, which involved leaking material to the press. Glad to report that the American Society of Newspaper Editors has agreed to file a friend of the court brief in the case.



Q. Aren't you advocating the overthrow of the present government?

A. Not if the present government would turn around and say . . . uncle.

Presidential news conference, Feb. 21, 1985.

NICARAGUA IN QUOTES

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PEACE PROJECT
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W. H. P. 1985
"Now, the President . . . is telling the world that our country will keep aiding the rebels in Nicaragua until the Government of that country cries 'uncle,' until it agrees to the kinds of internal reforms Reagan demands. The United States has played 'uncle' in Latin America for far too long. It is time to play brother."

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Feb. 26, 1985.

What About the Sandinistas?

"I don't think the Sandinistas have a decent leg to stand on. What they have done is brutal, cruel."

President Ronald Reagan, Feb. 21, 1985.

"The government not only has spent its meager resources on ending illiteracy and extending health care to more Nicaraguans in three years than in the past three centuries, it also introduced economic links with many countries, among them France, Sweden, Finland and Brazil. Seventy percent of Nicaragua's economic accords are with capitalist countries, excluding the United States."

Carlos Fuentes, Mexican novelist, New York Times, Jan. 8, 1983.

"Ambitious and large-scale health programs begun after the Sandinista revolution in 1979 have reduced infant mortality from 121 to 82 per 1,000 – one of the most rapid mortality declines on record anywhere . . . The Sandinista government has earned considerable recognition for its health advances, including election to the presidency of the Pan American Health Organization advisory council and selection as one of the five model countries in primary health care by the World Health Organization."

Richard M. Garfield, doctoral candidate at Columbia University School of Public Health, and Inter-American Foundation research fellow in Nicaragua. New York Times, Feb. 2, 1984.

"It is a Communist dictatorship. It has . . . oppressed and in many cases expunged the political opposition, and rendered the democratic freedoms of speech, press and assembly, punishable by officially sanctioned harassment, and imprisonment or death . . . The truth is Somoza was bad, but so many people of Nicaragua know the Sandinistas are infinitely worse."

President Ronald Reagan, April 15, 1985.

"Corruption of the language was central to Orwell's terrifying vision in '1984.'"

"President Reagan on the subject of Nicaragua sounds more and more these days like something from the pages of Orwell. His disregard for the facts has become hallucinatory. His rhetoric rings with hate . . ."

"'Somoza was bad,' he said the other night, but 'the Sandinistas are infinitely worse.' There are no words adequate to convey the insult that statement does to history and to the victims of 40 years of Somoza pillage."

"The Nicaraguan Government is 'a Communist dictatorship,' he said. It has 'expunged the political opposition.' That, of a country where opposition parties hold a third of the seats in parliament, where private business is active and critical, where the press is wrongly censored but a privately owned opposition paper survives."

Anthony Lewis, New York Times, April 18, June 16, 1985.

"Whether the President knows it or not, his tactics are borrowed from the totalitarian arsenal: he is determined to portray those he wishes to destroy in the most lurid and reprehensible colors. Convinced, apparently, that the end justifies the means, he is prepared to use even the most unscrupulous tools – including untruths, quarter-truths and travesties of history to topple the Sandinistas. And then, to top it off, he has the gall to claim that he 'remains committed to a peaceful solution in Central America.'"

Abraham Brumberg, former editor of the journal Problems of Communism, New York Times, June 18, 1985.

Who is Threatening Whom?

"If we permit the Soviets, using the Sandinistas, to establish a beachhead on the American mainland and to spread their subversion, the free world will face a major challenge to the geopolitical balance of power."

"We could turn around one day and find a string of pro-Soviet dictatorships in Central America and a threat to our southern borders."

President Ronald Reagan, April 18, 1985.

"The reasons given for the suddenly open talk of invasion and overthrow are that Nicaragua might become some sort of Soviet military base and/or that it might attempt to export armed revolution to neighboring countries and extend Soviet power in this hemisphere. Never mind that Moscow has not for more than twenty years tried seriously to threaten the United States from Cuba and has shown no interest in bases in Nicaragua, or that Fidel Castro, a more charismatic leader than any Sandinista, has had little success in spreading his revolution elsewhere in Latin America."

Tom Wicker, New York Times, June 14, 1985.

ON HELPING "OUR BROTHERS"

"There are over 15,000 freedom fighters struggling for liberty and democracy in Nicaragua . . . They are our brothers . . . How can we refuse them assistance when we know that ultimately their fight is our fight."

President Ronald Reagan, Feb. 16, 1985.

"Digna Barreda de Ubeda, 29, told of an ordeal that began in May 1983 with a visit to the house of her uncle in Sapote . . . She and her husband were abducted at gunpoint by members of the [contra] Nicaraguan Democratic Force . . .

"There were 50 or 60 of them in the group and over five days they took turns raping me until each had had his chance," said Mrs. Barreda.

"While she was raped, said Mrs. Barreda, other soldiers standing by stabbed her with bayonets in the legs and side, which has left her with scars and a permanent back problem. During some of the episodes, she says, her husband was forced to watch."

New York Times, March 7, 1985.

"The contras have a tendency to kidnap young girls."

*Senior Reagan Administration official, New York Times,
March 6, 1985.*

The contras are "our brothers. And we owe them our help . . . They are the moral equal of our Founding Fathers."

President Ronald Reagan, March 1, 1985.

"The Nicaraguan 'contras' are the 'moral equal of our Founding Fathers,'" President Ronald Reagan says. They are 'our brothers.' They are 'freedom fighters struggling for liberty and democracy.'

"The day after Christmas 1984, those 'freedom fighters' attacked a wedding party that was on the way home from church in the Nicaraguan countryside. They killed six people, including the bride. Why did they do that? Numerous reports on their activities make the answer clear: their strategy is to terrorize the population."

Anthony Lewis, New York Times, March 10, 1985.

"We're not going to quit and walk away from [the contras] no matter what happens."
President Ronald Reagan, April 4, 1985.

The "Sandinista Threat"

"It's hard to believe, if we know so much about all these shipments, that we haven't been able to capture one plane or boat. It's even hard to believe that in the last two years one of the planes hasn't crashed or one crate of guns hasn't been dropped mistakenly into a tree."

*David C. MacMichael, former C.I.A. analyst, New York Times,
June 17, 1984.*

"President Reagan has said that 'the Sandinista military buildup began two and a half years before' the United States-backed Nicaraguan rebels took up arms and was not a result of the rebel attacks. But Defense Department records show that the first shipment of heavy Soviet-made arms to Nicaragua came many months after the first reports of rebel attacks

"Of the assertions of a possible Nicaraguan invasion of its neighbors, Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockman of Nicaragua said, 'To believe that is to believe that in addition to being evil, we are also insane.'

"A Senior Defense Department official directly involved with Central American affairs agreed, saying that 'we don't expect an attack' because 'we don't think they would be that stupid.'"

Joel Brinkley, New York Times, March 30, 1985.

"Who mined Nicaraguan ports? Who bombed Sandino Airport? Who published the C.I.A. crime manual? So who are the terrorists?"

*Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega,
July 20, 1985.*

"Secretary of State Shultz declared in a letter to Speaker O'Neill that U.S.-supported guerrilla attacks might lead the Sandinista Government to 'reconsider its pervasive intervention in the region.' What magnificent effrontery! When it's the Reagan Administration that has sent arms and advisors to the Salvadoran Government, arms and money to the anti-Sandinista guerrillas operating from Honduras, U.S. troops to 'maneuvers' in that near-puppet state, and fleets to both coasts of Nicaragua. And what intervention chargeable to Nicaragua can compare in scope to the U.S.-supported destruction of fuel tanks that caused the 25,000 citizens of Corinto to be temporarily evacuated?"

Tom Wicker, New York Times, October 21, 1983.

"The United States can coexist perfectly well with a revolution like ours. We could even resolve our conflicts in a way that would allow us to help resolve other conflicts that exist in the region."

*Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega Saavedra,
New York Times, June 7, 1985.*

THE CONTRAS

"I was hit in the foot and was covered with blood, so I lay on the ground, pretending to be dead . . . Then the contras came and cut the throats of the people who stayed on the truck.

"When they were finished, they set the truck on fire. From where I was lying, I could hear the groans and screams of those who were being burned alive."

*Account of a contra attack on a truck carrying volunteer coffee pickers, by Santos Roger Briones, age 16.
New York Times, March 7, 1985.*

"Once again, the nation's political leadership – Republican, Democratic – is shocked, chagrined and outraged. The cause this time is a CIA-produced manual called 'Operaciones Sicologicas en Guerra de Guerrillas' that was apparently distributed to the so-called contras who are fighting Nicaragua's Sandinista regime. It tells how to fight dirty.

"It tells how and when to kill innocent civilians, how to implicate and involve the local population in such acts, how to stir up mob action and how and under what circumstances thugs and criminals can be used . . .

"But what, dear readers, did all these politicians think was happening before the manual was leaked by the Associated Press? How do they think you fight a covert-overt dirty little war waged by mercenaries, some of whom would not fight if the checks stopped coming? After all, some of the so-called 'freedom fighters' President Reagan extols are former members of Anastasio Somoza's National Guard, an outfit of thugs and sadists best known for rape and torture. They need a manual on killing the way a goldfish needs swimming lessons . . .

"The CIA manual is neither a scandal nor a mistake, but an admission. It suggests that only lies and terror can pry the Nicaraguans away from their Government. If that's necessary . . . then, like Vietnam, we are once again fighting the wrong war for the wrong reasons . . . The shock and the outrage should instead be reserved for the war itself."

Richard Cohen, Washington Post, Oct. 20, 1984.

"The contras aim to disrupt, and they do. They go into the villages, and the first thing they do is go for all the things the revolution has built. They go for the clinic, the day-care center, the schools, the grain-storage areas . . . The literacy campaign accomplished wonders, but it's had to be curtailed, it's just too dangerous to send teenagers into the countryside . . .

"The way our government has chosen to act, through the contras' war, is unforgiveable. I am a doctor. I don't have to come up with political solutions. But I know the war has to be stopped."

*Dr. Karen Brudney, an American doctor working in Nicaragua.
New York Times, Dec. 24, 1984.*



Nuclear warfare planning comes home

Lois Barber

U.S. military and government leaders are planning for a protracted nuclear conflict. Their preparations directly involve hundreds of communities across the country. The incredible idea that nuclear weapons could be used in a controlled exchange has gained credibility at the highest levels of strategic planning. The Ground Wave Emergency Network, a communication system designed to function after nuclear war begins, reflects the acceptance of a nuclear warfighting strategy as national policy.

As the Air Force carries out the Pentagon's plan, building a network of hundreds of GWEN towers in communities throughout the nation, the issue of warfighting policy is arriving in our backyards, stimulating citizens' questions and protest.

The modernization of strategic communications, a large program of which GWEN is just a part, has been repeatedly linked to strategies for fighting a protracted nuclear war. The Joint Chiefs of Staff argued in 1983 that "C3 (command, control, and communications) systems must not only support an initial retaliatory response, but also survive and endure through a protracted period of conflict." Lt. Gen. William Hilsman, when director of the Defense Communications Agency in 1982, stated, "The key ingredient in the nation's survival then becomes a robust and endurable communications system that can function through protracted nuclear war ..."

GWEN is intended to be that robust, endurable communication system which makes possible, at least in the minds of war planners, controlled nuclear attacks. GWEN will operate only after nuclear war begins, yet it is expected to cost more than one billion dollars. Using low frequency radio waves, GWEN will link "sensor sites, command posts, and land-based nuclear forces." Under a contract with the RCA Corporation, the Air Force proposes

to construct hundreds of relay nodes in communities across the nation.

Each GWEN node will consist of a tower 300 feet high, an underground copper screen 600 feet in diameter, and buildings to house transmitting and power generating equipment. The installations are designed to withstand the electromagnetic pulse generated by nuclear detonations, which will cripple most electronic devices. Hardening against EMP is not a capability that can be effectively tested. Each hardened relay node is projected to cost \$1.3 million. The sites will not be manned, and local law enforcement authorities will be responsible for their security.

The first phase of GWEN, with nine relay nodes, was built in the midwest during 1984 without much public concern. Phase 2, however, is being met with widespread community opposition. Called "The Thin Line" by the Air Force, Phase 2 includes a network of 57 towers encircling the U.S., scheduled for completion by 1986. As the construction of Phase 2 brings the arms race into their backyards, citizens at proposed GWEN sites are questioning the communication system and the policies that it represents.

Neither the Air Force nor the Pentagon has any plan to inform communities near proposed GWEN sites. Residents of Hampshire County in western Massachusetts first heard about GWEN when a newspaper reporter, alerted to Air Force inquiries at the land registry, did some research and published an article in the Springfield Union. Upon learning of the Pentagon's plan, Hampshire residents used their own communication network, forming the No-GWEN Alliance to bring the issue to the attention of their neighbors and elected representatives.

The university town of Amherst was the Air Force's first choice as a GWEN site in Hampshire County. The Amherst selectboard invited representatives of the Air Force to a meeting to provide information and to answer questions. Soon afterwards, the five-member

board voted to oppose construction of the GWEN tower in Amherst.

Following this, the Amherst Town Meeting, with 250 elected members, voted overwhelmingly to reject the GWEN tower and to oppose the GWEN system nationally. They requested that "Congress initiate a thorough review of this network with the aim of cutting off funding for this and other programs which further the notion that we can fight and prevail in a nuclear war."

The Hampshire County Commissioners held three public hearings on GWEN which were attended by hundreds of residents. On May 9, 1985, the commissioners voted unanimously to "urge Congress to subject the GWEN system to the kind of critical scrutiny it has received in Hampshire County." Town and county public hearings served to focus community debate on GWEN and the policies it represents. Over a period of six months, 68 letters to the editor, 14 columns, and four editorials concerning GWEN appeared in the local press.

In response to this intense citizen and government opposition, the Air Force announced it was widening its search for a GWEN site in western Massachusetts and applied for a permit to build a GWEN tower in Barre, a small town 35 miles east of Amherst.

Residents of Barre, however, were unwilling to accept what Amherst had rejected and petitioned their elected representatives to sponsor a public hearing with the Air Force and the Pentagon. The meeting was attended by hundreds of residents asking health, environmental, and nuclear war policy questions.

Aware that GWEN would soon be arriving unannounced in communities across the country, the No-GWEN Alliance began The GWEN Project to alert groups at other proposed sites. The GWEN Project provides materials, speakers, support, and help in planning effective opposition to GWEN. Organizers have found that these very visible, 300 foot towers can serve as the focus for community education and protest about our country's preparation for engaging in protracted nuclear war.

Opposition to GWEN has begun in Castine, Maine; Eugene, Oregon; Mequon, Wisconsin; Silver Creek, Nebraska; Harbor Creek, Pennsylvania; as well as Amherst, Barre, Taunton, Dartmouth, and Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

The author is national coordinator for the No-GWEN Alliance, P.O. Box 135, Amherst, MA. © Recon





TOPICS

Sam Smith

Libya

"Government buildings, museums, mansions and essential plants were to be burned down ... Women and children were to be sent in front of terrorist groups. ... It has been ascertained that today was to have seen terrorist acts against individual persons, against private property, and against the life and limb of the peaceful population."

That's not Ronald Reagan speaking, but the German government the day after the Reichstag fire, declaring what it had allegedly found in "documents proving the Communist conspiracy." Those documents were never produced. Nine years later, according to the chief of the German General Staff, Herman Goering would boast, "The only one who really knows about the Reichstag is I, because I set it on fire."

Given that we are, from most reports, beset by terrorists — reports we will take another look at in a moment, it is perhaps useful to remind ourselves that the terrorist, particularly the elusive and politically convenient terrorist, is not a modern invention. A terrorist is basically someone who, in armed conflict, does not play by the same rules traditional governments use to terrorize those they don't like. They have been with us throughout the history of warfare. The Trojan Horse was an act of sheer terrorism. Cromwell's New Model Army was hardly more sensitive than the PLO. To the 18th century British, the American rebels were probably regarded as the moral equivalent of terrorists; and the Israeli freedom-fighters certainly fall into the category. Despite their frightening title, terrorists often do less damage to human life than conventional military forces, assuming, of course, that in a moral

equation, a Libyan life is worth, say, as much as an American. Another raid or so on Tripoli and we will have surely killed more innocent people defending our world against terrorists than the Libyans have done defending their world against us.

It is dangerous, I know, to speak calmly of a matter that has the entire travel industry poised on the edge of disaster, but I am encouraged to continue by a compilation of terrorist acts offered by none other than the US State Department. According to that department's Office for Counter-Terrorism and Emergency Planning, more Americans died in terrorist incidents in 1974 (42) than in 1985 (23). In fact, the same number of Americans were killed last year as in 1972 which, if you can recall, was not a big time for terrorist panic.

Further, if you prefer empiricism to Larry Speakes, you will be interested to know that between 1980 and 1985 there were 458 terrorist incidents in Europe involving Americans, 369 in Latin America and only 84 in the Middle East. Again, during the 1970s, 650 people lost their lives due to airplane bombings. The figures for the 1980s are running at half the annual rate of the previous decade. (Fuller information can be found in the Washington Post's April 13 Outlook section.)

An additional curiosity about this business is the infatuation with Libya as the source of all evil. Even among the consortium of evil Arab empires, Libya comes out a poor third to Syria and Iran as a source of middle east terrorists. The US News & World Report, no leftist rag, recently reported for example that "American intelligence experts a few months ago drew up a list of the world's ten most wanted terrorists. There wasn't a single Libyan on the roster, which was composed mostly of extremists backed by Syria and Iran."

Even accepting that you want to wage something called "a war on terrorism," there is no particular logic for singling out Libya for paranoia and hysteria other than political considerations. Once again, as with Grenada, Ronald Reagan has shown his affinity for the gestalt of the typical urban hood. You find the easiest target and get your kicks beating up on it. The American media will never let its readers and listeners in on the secret, but getting Iran to give up the US hostages took infinitely more skill and courage than scheduling target practice over Tripoli. Besides, should outspoken foes of abortion really go around bombing 15-month-old babies?

The media, instead of helping its audience gain a more realistic perspective on events, reacted as if it had been collectively assigned to host "Wide World of Warfare." J. W. Philip, captain of the battleship Texas at the battle of Santiago, told his men, "Don't cheer boys; the poor devils are dying." He would never have made it as a television anchor. Nothing so firmly alligns the press with the government it is covering that for that government to provide the promise of battle. And when that government justifies its activities with the results of polls, the media gets the message, for it too relies on polls.

The voluntary enlistment of the media in the president's military and propaganda activities is not limited to such traditional White House assistant press secretaries as Chris Wallace. It is endemic, so much so that the media seems to have accepted fully the administration's paradigm of the terrorist as someone who kills, bombs and maims for the sheer joy of it. At least, I assume this to be the case because, like administration officials, the national media hardly ever seems to get around to whatever it is that might trouble someone so much that they would become a terrorist. In the current instance, the failure of the world to provide the

Palestinians with a homeland deserves at least nodding recognition as an alternative to pure dementia as an explanation for middle eastern guerilla activities. It is, however, part of the implicit standard of objectivity that the Palestinians are extremists. The public is not informed that it is not really involved in a battle against terrorism but in a lengthy and probably futile undeclared war against the Palestinian people. A war we shouldn't be in.

This is not only bad for the Palestinians, it's bad for us. The Reagan regime is using the excuse of terrorism for further incursions of the police state. As noted above, it's been tried before and is a very successful tactic.

Attending the American media these days is not dissimilar to the feeling that William Shirer noted living in the midst of the Third Reich:

"Though unlike most Germans I had daily access to foreign newspapers ... and though I listened regularly to the BBC and other foreign broadcasts, my job necessitated the spending of many hours a day in combing the German press, checking the German radio, conferring with Nazi officials and going to party meetings. It was surprising and sometimes consternating to find that notwithstanding the opportunities I had to learn the facts and



despite one's inherent distrust of what one learned from Nazi sources, a steady diet over the years of falsifications and distortions made a certain impression on one's mind and often muddled it. No one who has not lived for years in a totalitarian land can possibly conceive how difficult it is to escape the dread consequences of a regime's calculated and incessant propaganda."

The Reagan regime has created the world's most effective state propaganda machine since that of Paul Joseph Goebbels, and if someone of the skill and intelligence of William Shirer found this sort of thing difficult to resist, I suppose that we shouldn't wonder that the current far less independent, less intelligent and less skeptical breed of journalist should be so easily enthralled.

Breaking the code

Now on to the really important stuff: David Stockman's book. Those excerpts I have read suggest that it is the most revelatory work by a participant in some time concerning the cynicism, deception and hypocrisy of the Reagan regime and Washington in general. Saying this is no defense of Stockman, his own failures, ploys, deceits and myopia. And he certainly needs a little help in his writing; at one point he speaks of making the mistake of trying to "peer deep into the veil of the future and chain the ship of state to an exacting blueprint." But just as we fortunately don't rate journalistic efforts on the drinking habits, sexual peccadillos or creditworthiness of the authors, it seems somewhat wide of the mark to deride Stockman's work on the ground that he is a traitor and a schmuck. Yet this is the position of official Washington, including the court press, a position that reveals the degree to which the relationship between government and the media has declined from mere sycophancy on the latter's part to rampant sodomy. Stockman has told people what the media should have told them about the Reagan administration and didn't.

A properly contrite journalistic establishment would give the man a Pulitzer instead of flailing him for breaking the code of a club that shouldn't exist anyway.

At last a rainbow

To those who, as one observer put it, remember Jesse Jackson before he became a virgin, the rise of the alliterative activist has posed more than a few dilemmas. I watched his 1984 campaign with a mixture of admiration and disappointment: admiration for he was saying so many of the right things, disappointment because the rainbow of which he talked simply didn't exist and he didn't even seem all that interested in finding it.

But things have changed since 1984. The Democratic Party has moved even further to the right, we can look forward to a spectrum ranging from Charles Robb, who favors aid to the Contras, to Mario Cuomo, who favors bombing Libya. And Jesse Jackson has finally found the rainbow.

Jackson, in fact, has become the first black political leader to overcome the parochial and ultimately self-defeating heritage of the black nationalist movement, which despite the early boost it gave to black fortunes infected black leaders with the defeatist notion that they could only lead blacks. The memory of Martin Luther King turning an overwhelmingly white nation on its head was erased and black politicians settled for winning where they had a large enough black constituency to succeed no matter what the whites thought. There were a few exceptions, most notably that of Tom Bradley, but his success came from assimilation rather than leading from a black-oriented agenda.

With Jackson's newly revived Rainbow Coalition something dramatically different is happening. Jackson is on the verge of preempting much of left-of-center Democratic politics, which is to say the politics of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the Johnson years and even, by today's standard, the Carter years. Jesse Jackson may, in fact, be the most traditional Democratic leader in the party today.

It is, of course, possible that Gary Hart and Mario Cuomo will not completely join the party's lemming-like march to the extremist middle but at this point both appear uncertain as to where to position themselves or, in Cuomo's case, if at all. Meanwhile the sins of the Reagan regime accumulate and Jackson alone acts the way those of us who were raised in the Democratic tradition thought Democrats were meant to act.

This is, frankly, not where I expected to be in 1986. I had hoped that Cuomo

would lead the assault on the Reganistas but he has reacted with all the fervor of a Times Square hot dog merchant being asked to add more mustard.

So now Jacksons has brought into his coalition the imaginative progressive of Vermont, William Wimpinsinger of the Machinists Union, the United Farm Alliance, Kenneth Blaylock of the AFGE, New Mexico governor Tony Anaya, Michael Harrington, independent oil producers, Hormel strikers, feminists, environmentalists and others. In some

cases, the politics of those in the coalition may prove to be self-contradictory and there may be many deserters when and if Jackson announces for president, but for the moment Jackson has actually made the rainbow come alive. This is not only an achievement for black America; it is one for all progressives, too long bogged down in their intramural concerns and inability to trust one another. The new Rainbow Coalition is a potentially major development in American politics, and for once it is a major development that is working in our favor.

**FREE
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A penny for your votes

SANE and other peace groups are joining with the AFL-CIO, the NAACP, and many other social organizations in a campaign to lower military spending, protect essential domestic programs, and urge large corporations to pay their share in taxes.

The campaign, called Americans for Budget Equity, asks citizens to send a penny to Congress with this message:

"Here's my contribution to reduce the deficit. It may not be much, but it's more than all the taxes paid last year by 50 of the largest and most profitable U.S. companies and hundreds of millionaires."

Economics Course

The Center for Popular Economics is offering week-long courses in economics for activists from labor unions, women's groups, church and community organizations, peace and anti-intervention groups, anti-racist organizations, environmental groups and progressive educators. The two sessions will be held from July 20-26 and August 3-9 at the Stoneleigh-Burnham School in Greenfield, Massachusetts.

Topics covered include unemployment, inflation, international economic problems, unions and labor markets, the political economy of racism and sexism, Reaganomics and more. The goal of the Institute is to provide progressive activists with alternative economic knowledge and skills that will help them in their political activities, particularly in combatting the effects of "New Right economics."

The teaching staff of the Summer Institute are professional economists from university and college economic departments.

The cost of the seven day program includes room and board and is on a sliding scale ranging from \$250 to \$450. Scholarships and free daycare are available. For additional information and an application form for the Summer Institute, please write to the Center For Popular Economics, P.O. 785, Amherst, Massachusetts, 01004

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"Reaffirming Rehabilitation," a conference, will be held June 19-21 in Alexandria, Va. Sponsored by the National Center on Institutions and

Alternatives. Info: NCIA, 814 North Saint Asaph Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314.

A new directory of 160 farmland-related organizations active in the northeast has been published by the National Resources Defense Council, 122 East 42nd St., NYC NY 10168. Covers groups active in fields of farm and open space conservancy, land use planning, sustainable agriculture, land trust development, farm management and agricultural finance. Copies are \$12.

A conference will be held November 20-21 in Boston on sustaining agriculture near cities. Info: William Lockeretz, School of Nutrition, Tufts University, Medford MA 02155.

The National Lawyers Guild has published A Lesbian and Gay Parent's Legal Guide to Child Custody. \$5 from the Lesbian Rights Project, 1370 Mission Street, Fourth Floor, San Francisco, CA 94103.

The Bhopal Tragedy, a book-length account of the Bhopal tragedy and its implications for American workers exposed to similar risks. \$13.50 plus \$2 handling from the Bhopal Action Resource Center, Suite 9A, 777 United Nations Plaza, NYC NY 10017.

Child Abuse and Neglect Law: A Canadian Perspective. \$24.95 from Child Welfare League of America, 300 Raritan Center Parkway, Edison NJ 08818.

Honduras: Developments in 1985—A pamphlet on key developments in Honduras. 50¢ ea. From: *United Church of Christ-OCIS*, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 543-1517.

The Hope for Peace in Central America: The Central American Peace Initiatives—A succinct look at current peace initiatives including the Contadora peace process, the Lima Group, the Manzanillo talks between the U.S. and Nicaragua, and efforts to encourage dialogue in El Salvador. 2 pp. \$10 per 100. From: *Washington Office on Latin America*, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 544-8045.

Liberal Voting Record—How the members of Congress voted on major domestic as well as foreign policy issues. \$5 ea. From: *Americans for Democratic Action*, 1411 K St. NW, #850, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 638-6447.

Media Briefing Packet on the Federal Budget—A packet of documents on military spending versus human needs. \$2.25 ea. 10 or more: \$2 ea. Paid orders only. From: *American Friends Service Committee*, Peace Education Resources, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7000.

Talking Sense About Nicaragua—Questions and answers on key issues in Nicaragua and U.S. foreign policy. 20 pp. 25¢ ea. \$20 per 100. Paid orders only. From: *American Friends Service Committee*, Peace Education Resources, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7000.

Understanding El Salvador—A pamphlet that answers key questions on the current situation in El Salvador. 20 pp. 25¢ ea. \$20 per 100. Paid orders only. From: *American Friends Service Committee*, Peace Education Resources, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7000.

Voting Record, 1985—Includes votes on domestic issues as well as arms control and foreign policy issues. 25¢ ea. Bulk rates available. From: *Friends Committee on National Legislation*, 245 2nd St. NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 547-6000.

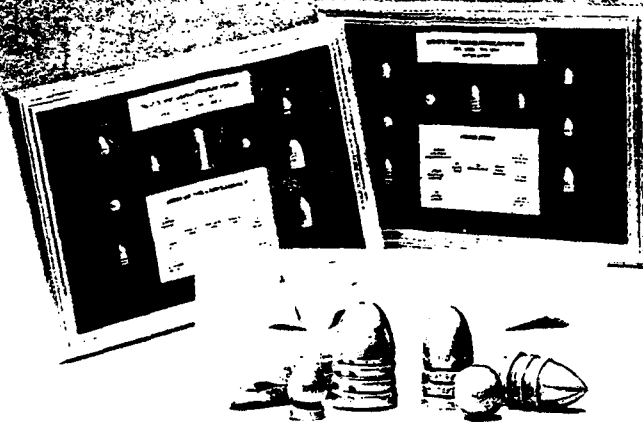
The Case Against Star Wars—a non-technical pamphlet by Isaac Asimov attacking the basic precepts of Star Wars. 8 pp. Individual copies free. From: *Americans for Democratic Action*, 1411 K St. NW, #850, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 638-6447.

Chile: Human Rights and U.S. Policy—A series of eight essays by governmental and non-governmental officials who look at the Chilean situation today in terms of human rights and U.S. foreign policy. 50 pp. \$5 ea. From: *Washington Office on Latin America*, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 544-8045.

Divestment Packet—The latest information updated regularly on corporations involved in South Africa, Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility profiles of corporations, South African church leaders' statements on divestment, and more. \$5 ea. From: *United Church of Christ—BWM*, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115, (212) 683-5656.

El Salvador: A Look at the Reality, Honduras: A Look at the Reality, and Nicaragua: A Look at the Reality—Three basic background primers on Central America, 16 pp. ea. \$1.50 ea. Bulk rates available. From: *Quixote Center*, 3311 Chauncey Place, #301, Mt. Rainier, MD 20712, (301) 699-0042.

Thanks to the Coalition for a New Military and Foreign Policy for some of the information above.



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Daniel Jussim

Thanks in part to the recent availability of cheap and easy-to-use urine assay kits, tests for drugs are being routinely administered to millions of people even when there is no compelling need and absolutely no cause for suspicion.

Seen by its supporters as a quick fix for the complex problem of drug and alcohol abuse, testing is becoming a veritable fashion. In sports, major league baseball and the National Collegiate Athletic Association have initiated limited compulsory drug testing programs.

The *Los Angeles Times*, though its director of employee relations says there's no particular drug problem at his newspaper, recently adopted a mandatory urinalysis program "to stay current with what other employers are doing." Other employers include the Pentagon, the U.S. Postal Service, and scores of corporations such as the *New York Times*, IBM, General Motors, Gulf Oil, Alcoa and American Airlines.

The ACLU opposes compulsory drug testing programs as an invasion of the privacy of employees and a violation of their Fourth Amendment right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures. Though the Fourth Amendment does not apply to private employees, the ACLU believes that its values should.

"Compulsory blood tests and urine tests are bodily searches," ACLU Executive Director Ira Glasser says. "There has to be a specific reason why a particular person is suspected of using drugs before such a test can be compelled."

"You can't search everyone, innocent and guilty alike, to find the few who are guilty. This basic American principle of fairness has been abandoned by those who advocate drug testing for everyone."

Employers typically cite low productivity, absenteeism and workplace accidents that stem from substance abuse as the pretexts for invading workers' privacy and trying to regulate their lives. The tests are used most

often in screening job applicants and as part of periodic physical examinations of workers, but bosses may also administer them randomly and use positive results against employees.

Actions taken on the basis of test results may be totally unfounded — last year the *Journal of the American Medical Association* reported that labs with government contracts arrived at incorrect conclusions up to 100 percent of the time when testing urine specimens for drug traces.

While the tests can't pinpoint whether you used a drug on or off the job — marijuana smoked up to two months before the test may show up in the results — they can reveal a wealth of personal medical information, such as whether you take Dilatin, an antiseizure drug that would peg you as epileptic. Once you hand in the sample, an employer can "search" it for whatever chemicals he or she wants.

Nonunion employees in the private sector can only fight testing by pushing for local legislation. San Francisco, for example, recently became the first jurisdiction to ban urine and blood tests in most employment situations. But public employees and students are protected by the Constitution and the courts, for the most part, have so far upheld some measure of constitutional protection.

A New Jersey Superior Court ruled unconstitutional an unprecedented drug testing program proposed by officials at Henry P. Becton Regional High School in East Rutherford. The plan would have subjected students to urine and blood testing for drugs and alcohol as part of an annual physical exam.

Judge Peter Ciolino said the school's policy — under which students who tested positive for drugs would have been suspended or expelled — violates the right of students to be free from unreasonable search and seizure as well as their due-process rights and "legitimate expectation of privacy and personal security."

The case, brought by the ACLU of New Jersey on behalf of five students, is "extremely important," according to ACLU cooperating attorney John Weichsel, because "it sends a message loud clear" to other schools considering similar policies, that students' bodily fluids are not subject to routine search.

Ciolino rejected the school board's claim that drug use is a disease like any other, giving

authorities a free hand to test for it. "[This] policy," he wrote, "is an attempt to control student discipline under the guise of a medical procedure, thereby circumventing strict due process requirements." He went on to note the Orwellian implications of carrying the board's argument to its logical extreme—if any problem could be classified as "medical," "medical testing is without limits."

He also countered the board's contention that no individual suspicion is needed under its policy because all students would be tested, pointing out that the Fourth Amendment "is not limited to only those who are suspected of criminal behavior."

"There really isn't [a drug problem] in my school," plaintiff Carla Odenheim, a senior at Becton, says. "I think what they're saying is that anyone under 18 doesn't have a right to anything, least of all their own body. They already have cameras on the buses. [Video cameras were installed in the district's school buses recently to keep an eye on purportedly unruly students.] What's next? Are they going to put cameras in the bathrooms to see if we're smoking? How about strip searches?"

Odenheim isn't alone in her opposition. In a poll taken last June, 80 percent of Becton's students opposed drug testing.

Judith Campbell, who joined the suit because she felt that the testing policy trampled on her parental prerogatives and her child's right to be presumed innocent, feels that "education is the key" to preventing drug abuse. "The ones who are taking the drugs will find a way around drug testing," she says.

Other parents see the testing as an important weapon against drug abuse and have prevailed on the school board to appeal. "The hell with their constitutional rights," one says. "Drugs are illegal. Once you do something illegal, you lose some of your constitutional rights."

Becton's lawyer, who promises to take the case to the Supreme Court, had a similar opinion about the decision against his client. He says that he thought the judge, as a parent, "would have the courage of his convictions," but "he took a very cautious, liberal view of the Constitution."

Another "cautious view" was taken by Judge Franklin Waters, who, in a suit sponsored by the ACLU of Arkansas, declared unconstitutional the Arkadelphia

school district's use of urine tests: "Requiring teenage students to disrobe from the waist down while an adult school official watches the student urinate in the 'open' into a tube is an excessive intrusion under the Fourth Amendment.

School officials in the Patchogue-Medford school district on Long Island, who went after teachers instead of students, were similarly rebuffed by the courts. They had planned to test the urine of 23 teachers seeking tenure, and then to expand the practice to cover administrators, newly hired teachers and other employees.

In a memo to the county judge hearing the case, New York Civil Liberties Union staff attorney Richard Emery wrote, "Never before has any governmental authority asserted the expansive right to require teacher — one of society's most respected and trusted groups — to degrade them selves and their profession by compelled submission to a search of bodily fluids."

Government workers employed in jobs where authorities can point to a "compelling interest," such as public safety, to justify what

would otherwise be considered a constitutional violation, may be more vulnerable to the testing onslaught.

A federal court in San Francisco recently upheld a Federal Railroad Administration testing program involving over 200,000 workers. If it's not overturned, certain accidents would trigger the wholesale drug testing of entire train crews, even though the tests cannot indicate whether or not any employee was under the influence of drugs on the job.

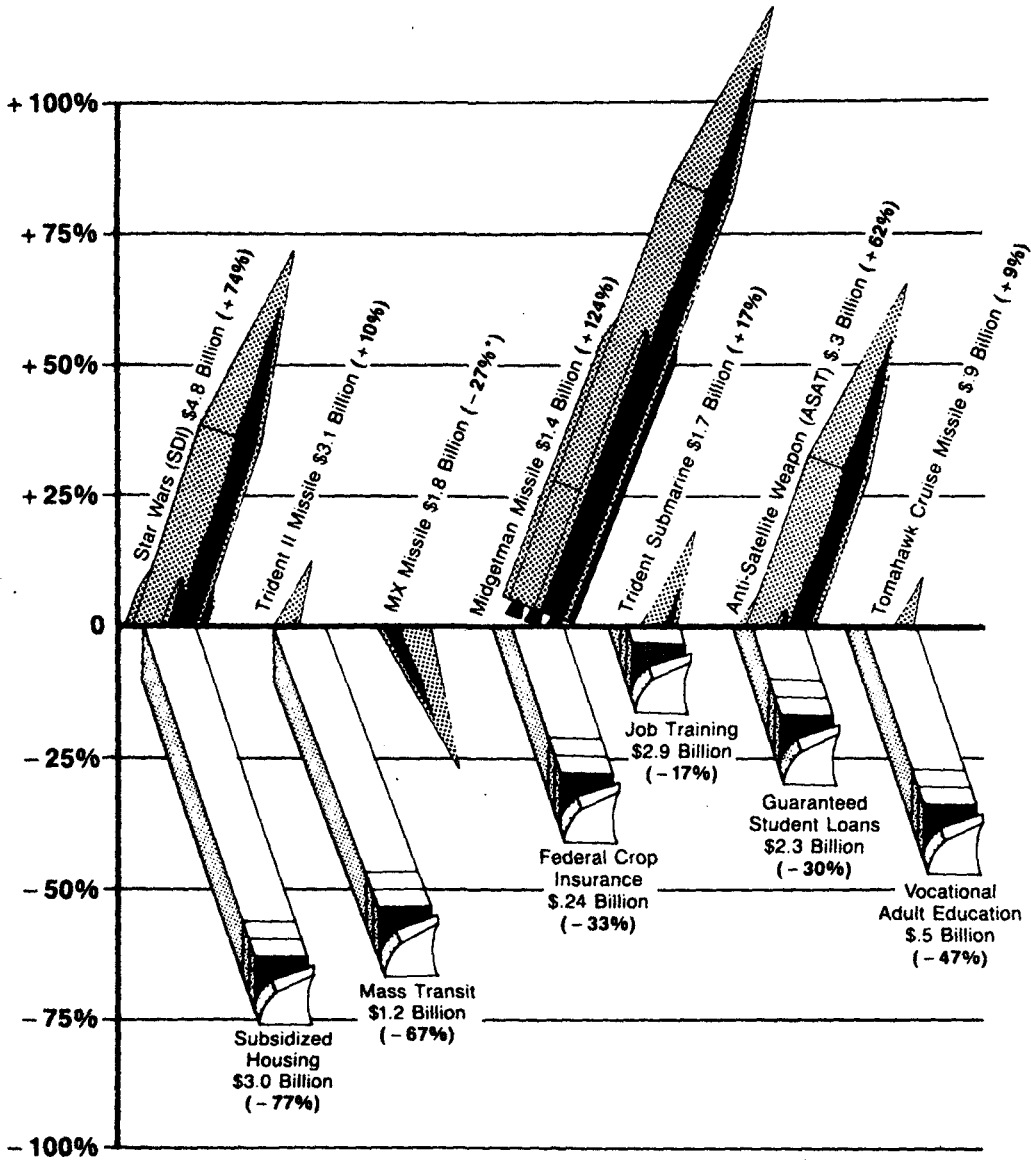
"Every employer has the right to expect his or her employees not to be drunk or stoned or high on the job," Glasser says. "Tests can be useful as part of an overall program, but they should be narrowly limited to those employees who are reasonably suspected of using drugs in a way that impairs job performance."

"Employers do not have the right, however, to monitor their employees' conduct off the job, or to subject people to bodily searches who are not suspected of drug use affecting their job performance."

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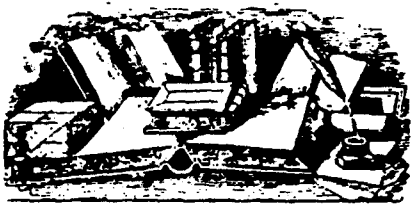
MORE GUNS LESS BUTTER



*decrease due to 1986 cap on program

The Administration's FY 1987 budget calls for significant increases in weapons programs and significant cuts in domestic programs. The figures in parentheses indicate the percentage difference of the proposed FY 1987 budget allocations from FY 1986's. Weapons systems figures were supplied by the Defense Department. Domestic program figures were supplied by the House Budget Committee.

—SANE



BOOKS

Just when you understood Watergate

Secret Agenda

By Jim Hougan
Ballantine Books

Despite the massive effort to "put Watergate behind us," Jim Hougan's *Secret Agenda* reveals important and dramatic new facts, and a new dimension, to the Watergate scandal. While this book raises as many questions as it answers, the author's call for a formal, nonpartisan investigation is justified. *Secret Agenda* demonstrates that the Central Intelligence Agency was deeply involved in the Watergate affair and orchestrated an elaborate coverup of its own illegal and unconstitutional activities.

Hougan's research was the basis for the new effort by convicted Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis to reopen what had been considered a closed case.

Popular understanding of Watergate is that the Democratic National Committee was burglarized by agents of the White House during the 1972 presidential campaign, as part of a broad "dirty tricks" operation. They were caught in the act. President Richard Nixon himself was eventually revealed to have participated in the cover-up and forced to resign.

Among the revelations in this book:

- The DNC was never bugged.
- A crude non-functional bug was planted months after the break-in in order to confuse investigators.
- Burglars E. Howard Hunt and James McCord were actually working for the CIA, conducting domestic political operations,

under White House cover, including spying on the White House itself.

- The real target of the bugging was a prostitution ring and its clients, who included prominent people from both parties.

Fourteen years and scores of books since the famous burglary, *Secret Agenda* does not exonerate Nixon and his co-conspirators of their crimes. Nor does Hougan subscribe to the alternative Republican theories that Watergate was either a Democratic Party or CIA plot to bring Nixon down. Hougan believes the Washington Post's anonymous source ("Deep Throat"), who according to reporter Bob Woodward in *All The President's Men*, said that what was really at stake were covert operations of the U.S. intelligence agencies: "The covert activities involve the whole U.S. intelligence community and are incredible. Deep Throat refused to give specifics because it is against the law. The cover-up had little to do with Watergate, but was mainly to protect the covert operations."

Despite the credence which the Post gave to Deep Throat's information, there is no indication that the paper tried to ascertain what he meant by this. Hougan, however, states that the evidence now indicates that "this was an institutional commitment of the CIA, rather than some 'runaway' operation conducted by rogue agents."

While Hougan makes no pretense at having all the answers, the conventional understanding of Watergate is demolished by this book. New evidence is presented based on transcripts of the original FBI interviews from the investigation, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act and unavailable to the Senate Watergate Committee back in 1974. Hougan also compares the accounts of all the Watergate figures' books, supplemented with new rounds of interviews to sort out the discrepancies and previously ignored documents, reexamined in light of all the new evidence.

The key people in this book are Hunt and McCord. Both were higher-level CIA figures than generally believed. For example, Hunt helped plan the 1954 military coup in Guatemala, then became chief of covert operations for North Asia, and later the first CIA chief of covert operations for the Domestic Operations Division.

McCord spent most of his career from the '50s through the '60s in the CIA's Office of

Security, whose main function is to prevent Soviet infiltration of the agency. He rose to a high level with OS, which also maintains millions of files on individuals of interest to the agency. Among the dubious achievements of the OS are the CIA's "mind-control" programs which slipped unsuspecting victims experimental drugs, including LSD. Hougau demonstrates that Hunt's, and probably McCord's, retirements were faked in order to provide cover for their infiltration of the Nixon White House.

These longtime spooks evidently sabotaged their own operation at the DNC in order to divert attention from their other operation at the nearby Columbia Plaza apartments, which was in danger of exposure. A prostitution ring, some of whose clients were contacted through a little-used DNC phone, was monitored, if not run, by the CIA. Hougau shows that the transcribed conversations from the telephone tape were actually of the Columbia Plaza call-girls and their johns, not, as the Watergate prosecutors believed, DNC staffers talking to their sex partners.

Many of those involved in the secret agenda behind the Watergate scandal held far-right political views and were deeply suspicious of Nixon's and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's foreign policy, particularly of detente with the Soviet Union. Some seriously believed that Kissinger was a "mole," a deep-cover Soviet agent. Others just thought he was selling out the U.S. Kissinger and deputy Alexander Haig were spied on, and top-secret documents were stolen from them by a military spy ring, which Hougau calls the "military counterpart to Howard Hunt's spying on the White House." He believes that the spy ring may have been funneling the information back to the CIA. In any case, the investigation was squelched.

A number of those close to the investigation felt that a military coup had been in the works at the time the spying was uncovered. Meanwhile, the CIA was running its mind-control program, as well as keeping psychological

profiles on the American political leadership and sexual doissiers on a scale that has yet to be revealed.

The significance of these and many other startling revelations is, first, that the press, the federal prosecutors, the Senate Watergate committee, and both political parties missed important pieces of the story. Sometimes it seems that leads were deliberately ignored.

Second, we were all fed a lot of disinformation about Watergate, particularly by the CIA. Indeed, McCord himself wrote to his boss, the late General Paul Gaynor, at the height of the Watergate investigation, urging him to "flood the newspapers with leaks or anonymous letters" intended to discredit anyone who might link Watergate to the CIA.

Third, whether or not a military coup was brewing, it is clear that many illegal acts were carried out by high-ranking CIA and military officials. Many of these anti-democratic elements are undoubtedly still involved in government and politics. Many should no doubt be prosecuted.

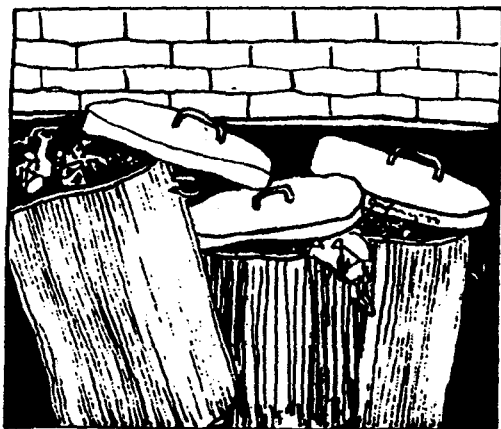
Finally, *Secret Agenda* is not for Watergate rookies. It assumes a basic knowledge of the affair and the major players. *All The President's Men* and, perhaps, *The Final Days* are highly recommended prerequisites for a full appreciation of this book.

This is, however, no turgid conspiracy theory. It's clear, meticulous, eminently readable, and often funny despite the seriousness of the material. The footnotes alone are worth the price for political researchers and need not trouble the more casual reader.

Since President Reagan has now "unleashed" the CIA to once again conduct domestic operations after a hiatus of post -- Watergate reforms. *Secret Agenda* is a timely lesson in the dangers of secret police forces in a democracy society. - Fred Clarkson.

Fred Clarkson is Washington correspondent for the Cooperative News Service. © 1986 by Cooperative News Service.

The Iowa Department of Water, Air and Waste Management reports that measurable amounts of pesticides were present in half the city water systems sampled in 1985.



America's trash crisis

NICK HOLDSWORTH

America is facing a garbage crisis. In less than three year's time at least half of all the cities in the country will run out of landfill space. And the costs of disposing of America's annual millions of tons of rubbish will triple. Added to this grim picture is atmospheric pollution. Many cities alarmed by diminishing disposal sites have turned to incineration as the answer: waste solids are reduced and energy is produced. But the by-products are potentially fatal dioxins and furans -- carcinogenic hydrocarbons. Hydrochloric acids are also produced. These are a chief factor in acid rain. In Europe the Swedes and the Danes, alarmed at pollution levels have declared a moratorium on the building of incinerator plants. Recycling, popular in alternative communities in the 1970's, has become pressing in the 80's. And a DC-based urban education and research group is leading a battle for sane, environmentally responsible waste disposal.

The Institute for Local Self-Reliance believes that cities need not be the dependent burdens they have become in modern America.

Wealth and resources exist. They only need to be recognised to be tapped. Self-Reliance aims to discover the resources, put them to work, and keep the wealth produced for the benefit of the cities. The self-reliant city extracts the maximum value from its raw materials, its technologies and buildings, and its people. It emphasizes production and efficient use of resources over consumption. It relies on many locally-owned small businesses rather than one or two factories owned by remote corporations. Its development plans and policies are integrated to promote self-reliance.

Neil Seldman is the Institute's director of waste utilization. To him incinerating garbage is sending money up into the air: "If garbage is incinerated it destroys raw materials: glass, plastic, organic waste, paper and rubber, which can be the basis for economic revitalisation in the inner cities in the United States." Burning waste is costing more and more. Costs range from \$15 a ton in southern California to \$90 a ton in Philadelphia. And as urban authorities try to combat the

dangers of pollution, these costs will go up. Recycling can use 40% or more of the waste, turn it into valuable products and do so at between \$25 and \$35 a ton. And recycling is employment intensive. For every 10,000 tons of waste disposed of in landfill sites or incinerator plants (which still are left with 30% solid ash waste), just six jobs are sustained. For every 10,000 tons recycled, 36 jobs are sustained. And recycling can be a valuable source of revenue for municipalities: glass is currently worth around \$20 a ton in its raw state; aluminum \$400 a ton; paper between \$20 and a \$100 a ton; plastic \$200 a ton; ferrous metals \$10 a ton; and compost - - shredded organic matter also around \$10 a ton. But, as Seldman is quick to point out, "if you take those to an end product and manufacture it, each of them is worth far more." And in answer to critics who charge that there is no market for recyclables, Seldman says from experience that once a community decides to recycle the markets follow the decision.

The Institute has already persuaded the city of Philadelphia to ditch its plans for a large scale incineration plant and build instead a recycling facility. Now 40% of the city's daily garbage collection of 3200 tons can be re-used. The value per ton is \$22 - about a fifth of the cost of merely disposing of the trash. Of the remaining 60% some can be incinerated (with close attention to reducing pollution) to produce energy, and the minor residue landfilled. Other municipal authorities throughout the nation are having second thoughts about incineration. Under the Institute's direction, East St Louis is designing a recycling plant, and North Kingston, Rhode Island, New Haven, Connecticut, and Edison, New Jersey, have all independently axed their mass burn plans and are looking into alternatives. In

Berkely, California a composting and recycling program is approaching a 50% reduction in the volume of solid waste, after just three years of operation.

And Seldman claims that introducing recycling acts as an impetus for more responsible waste disposal practices: "In one city in Connecticut, just by introducing a recycling program people generated 20% less garbage. Not counting what was recycled they changed their purchasing patterns to reduce waste." And recycling can begin at home: "In my house we get rid of our garbage by composting and worm bins, which reduce garbage by 50%."

As well as advising local authorities on waste reduction the Institute has initiated a program to bring the gospel of garbage reduction to the people. A training program for 100 citizen activists has been set up. It is designed to show them how to get involved in their local areas and ensure proper waste management at the community level. "We are also working with labor, agriculture, welfare and youth professionals to educate them on what a national policy for proper solid waste management could mean to their constituents."

Seldman has a vision of what the future could be. Unlike many visions his is rooted in reality: "The only way for cities to survive the next decade is for them to become efficient in using their resources. They have the means to create wealth from within; and because of the enormous amounts of solid waste it's the obvious task to create wealth here instead of disposing of it. The lessons cities have to learn is that getting energy out of waste is the least efficient way of getting rid of garbage. The most efficient way is to get materials out. The payback of materials recovered approaches 100% when all costs and revenues are considered."

Turning the tables on Lyndon LaRouche

CHIP BERLET & REENA BERNARDS

Illinois Democrats, outraged that supporters of right-wing political guru Lyndon LaRouche have "infiltrated" their party and grabbed two primary slots, might find solace in knowing that once, not long ago, the tables were turned.

In 1976 the LaRouche candidate for mayor of Charlotte, N.C., was not really a LaRouche candidate at all. He was Mark Englander, member of an anti-war collective called the Red Hornets that took special glee in disrupting the LaRouche organization.

Back then, LaRouche's method of intervening in elections was to run his candidates not as Democrats but on his own party's ticket. LaRouche himself was the U.S. Labor Party's candidate for president in 1976. By 1980, LaRouche had changed tactics -- the U.S. Labor Party had disappeared and LaRouchians were now filing to enter Democratic Party primaries, as in Illinois this year.

Englander posed as a LaRouche enthusiast and managed to get slated on the U.S. Labor party ticket in Charlotte. Adopting the mind-zapping tactics popularized by Abbie Hoffman's Yippies, Englander's Red Hornet friends then attended campaign rallies wearing "Stoned Zombies for LaRouche" T-shirts emblazoned with the likeness of a wild-eyed LaRouche eating a carrot in a vaguely sexually suggestive way.

"The election was all fun and games as far as we were concerned," remembers Englander, who now lives in Hinsdale, Ill. "Our campaign platform included a call for installing pianos on city buses." Englander, who faced an

entrenched incumbent who owned a chain of department stores, said, "We wanted to change his stores into habitats for wild animals. We received a tremendous amount of publicity, but actually, it really was the first time there was any news in that race."

"They were hilarious," recalls Doug Marlette, political cartoonist for the Charlotte Observer, "and they really infuriated the LaRouchies. That was the most effective method of dealing with the LaRouchies I've ever seen."

Marvin Sparrow, a Red Hornets leader at the time, remembers that he and other members of his group went to the Charlotte election board and changed their party registration to the U.S. Labor Party. At the time, the U.S. Labor Party had only eight registered voters in Charlotte.

"The LaRouchies saw their registrations jump in one week and probably thought their political message was really finding fertile ground," says Sparrow.

Englander paid a filing fee to register as a primary contender for the Labor Party mayoral candidate slot and then quietly marshalled his secret electorate. Englander won the primary over an orthodox LaRouchian named Stanley Ezrol by the lopsided margin of 29 votes to 18.

Like Illinois' Democrats in 1986, Charlotte's LaRouchians were stunned. Englander's true colors became immediately apparent, and the U.S. Labor Party -- in exactly the manner that Adlai Stevenson has lately been contemplating -- went to court to try and get Englander thrown off the ballot.

A Superior Court judge dismissed the challenge.

Sparrow said that from the beginning, "the purpose of our campaign was to ridicule the U.S. Labor Party. We wanted to show that the party was not a serious one, that they were crazy."

When a campaign forum happened to fall on Halloween night, "let's just say I was the only candidate to show up in costume," says Englander. A local television station felt obliged to invite Englander to a televised political debate. During it, Englander conspicuously consumed a banana. The Red Hornets issued a campaign poster with Englander appearing bare-chested.

True LaRouche followers lashed back by deriding them as "stoned Zombies," and "that's how we first got the idea for the T-shirts," says Sparrow with a laugh.

At the close of the bizarre campaign, Englander received 916 votes in the general election, a mere 19,000 away from victory. LaRouche's people went back to court, suing every Red Hornet who, in their view, had falsely registered as a U.S. Labor Party member.

Again, the LaRouchians' case was thrown out of court. Even if the Red Hornets did exactly what they were accused of doing, ruled a federal judge, "this would not constitute an unlawful conspiracy but would simply be political action which must be protected."

The Charlotte Observer commented, in language that today might bring a tear to the eye of an Illinois Democrat: "A successful politician in this country has to persuade people of his worth. By the evidence of the ballot box, Stanley Erzol didn't succeed. That may be embarrassing to him, but it doesn't mean that the man who defeated him broke the law."

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The first volume of the Samuel Gompers Papers has been published by the University of Illinois Press.
\$39.95

CHARLES McDOWELL

Live from the Senate

Sen. Albert Gore, a Democrat from Tennessee, was amused. He said television had shown us the Titanic on the bottom of the sea and Halley's comet deep in space, and now it actually was going to show us the United States Senate.

Sen. Russell Long, a Democrat of Louisiana, was horrified. He said television in the Senate meant that statesmanship would yield to showmanship. He added that statesmanship already was pretty scarce, come to think of it.

Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, another Democrat from Louisiana, also was pessimistic. He said a filibuster in the Senate was "a messy, untidy spectacle to watch," and he was afraid the citizens would not understand that the spectacle could be important to their freedoms.

Sen. John Stennis, a Democrat from Mississippi, was resigned to the new era. He said, "Let 'em see it all, the way we're carrying on here."

The senators voted, 67 to 21, to televise their sessions from gavel to gavel on a trial basis from June 1 to July 15. C-SPAN, the cable network that has been televising the House of Representatives since 1979, will carry the Senate on a second channel. So, roughly a third of a century after television connected people and politics directly, Congress joins the hookup.

It is more than a coincidence that the senators quoted above are all Southern Democrats. The power of parties, regions, generations and individuals all wax and wane in the Senate, but the Southern Democrats somehow remain the keepers of Senate tradition, of institutional continuity.

Successive Republican leaders, Howard Baker of Tennessee and Bob Dole of Kansas, were instrumental in bringing television to the Senate. The recent conversion of Robert Byrd of West Virginia, the Democratic leader, was crucial. But television was not approved until there was significant sentiment for it among the Southerners.

Not only have they tended to revere Senate tradition generally, but in years past they relied on the specific tradition of unlimited debate — the filibuster — to protect what they regarded as their regional interests. The filibuster failed to stop the advance of civil rights, and it was weakened in the struggle, but the filibuster remains the ultimate weapon with which a minority of senators can force delay, deliberation and perhaps compromise on any issue.

As some of the Southerners have been saying, television will make filibustering difficult. Viewers at home are likely to become impatient and then indignant rather fast when the droning and stalling and arcane parliamentary maneuvering go on for hours, days and weeks at a time with only a handful of senators in sight.

But dilatory tactics, inattention and petty bickering are fairly common in the Senate these days in the ordinary course of business. That is what old John Stennis was talking about when he said, "Let 'em see it all, the way we're carrying on here."

For several years now, my inexpert hunch has been that television would influence the Senate to be more efficient and coherent, even better understood, without much damage to cherished principles. And I agree with those who say the video tube will see through phonies and demagogues far more often than it glorifies them.

Hardly anybody argues that the House has suffered by its being televised. In any case, the members of the House have become far better known and most have gained status with the public since they accepted television six years ago. Competitively, the Senate had to go for the tube.

Writing about this prospect last year, I suggested some rules that the Senate might adopt to protect its dignified image of itself. I was trying to be funny. One rule was: If a senator is caught asleep during any broadcast, the cameraman will answer to the Rules Committee.

Well, now they are making the real rules to prepare for the advent of television. The Washington Post began its summary of them this way: "The rules as approved preclude camera-panning of the chamber to show empty seats or drowning senators ..."

Richmond Times — Dispatch

CHUCK STONE

Blacks & the NRA

Gun control was shot down recently by the same "good ol' boy" mentality that once enjoyed lynching blacks, but has transformed its latent savagery into the respectability of hunting animals.

The vote to adopt the Voklmer gun control-weakening legislation was 286-136, an incredibly comfortable margin of 67 percent.

Yet, 17 of the 18 voting black members of Congress voted *against* the bill.

Only Tennessee's black congressman, Rep. Harold Ford, a lovely man who always seems to have a vacant look on his face, voted to weaken gun control laws.

What does it mean when a bill that exalts violence passes by a 67 percent margin but is opposed by 94 percent of the black members of Congress?

Put it another way.

Blacks represent only 4 percent of the Congress.

Yet, they provided 12 percent of the vote to retain strong gun controls.

As this democracy has continued to keep "pressin' on the upward way" to a higher ground, I've always held that minorities and women would lead the way.

Outside of the blacks, that theory didn't hold up too well.

15 voting congressional women, split 8 to 7 to retain the stronger gun control law.

The voting eight hispanic members divided 4 to 4.

Why do black members of Congress — in contradistinction to their colleagues — almost unanimously support strong gun controls?

Three reasons.

The first is a binding ethnic heritage.

The ancient umbilical cord that stretches from Accra to Atlanta nurtures a respect for the peaceful society — despite the rampant urban violence among young blacks.

That respect carries over into foreign affairs.

When the House narrowly voted down

aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, black members of Congress unanimously opposed the aid.

They understand only too well the oppression imposed by outsiders.

They realize that the president who is working overtime to return this country to "separate but equal" is the same president who is hustling to destabilize any independent Central American government that doesn't lick his ideological boots.

The second reason for blacks supporting strong gun controls is the destruction they have suffered — and still suffer — from criminals.

Yes, blacks commit 75 percent of violent urban crimes — murder, rape, burglary, armed robbery.

And blacks are 78 percent of its victims, too.

Third, black congressional districts are — thank God, secure.

A number of congressmen wanted to vote against the National Rifle Association — and that's what this vote was all about, not gun control, but the NRA-bought-and-paid-for electoral process.

But they were afraid.

In a marginal district where a congressman wins by less than 3 percent, a massive

outpouring of NRS contributions to a strong opponent can shift the outcome.

But in black communities all over America, the NRA has about as much ability to influence elections as the KKK.

And both groups have in common their affection for the violent society.

How violent?

The latest statistics on handgun murders show that Americans commit — *per capita* — 170 times as many murders as Australians, 142 times as many murders as Canadians and 329 times as many murders as Britons.

This is the mentality that the NRA has helped to orchestrate, a subliminal acceptance of the legitimacy of violence.

How many John F. and Bobby Kennedys and Martin Luther Kings must be assassinated — George C. Wallaces and James Bradys crippled permanently — and thousands of others murdered annually — before this NRA-paralyzed government comes to its senses and outlaws handguns?

"The night is far spent."

But for now, we'll just have to settle for the good works of the gutsy and humane Congressional Black Caucus.

Philadelphia Daily News

Heavenly sounds

Ron McNair, the black astronaut on the ill-fated Challenger flight, received a nice tribute in the the latest issue of Tailgate Ramblings, the newsletter of the Potomac River Jazz Club. In it, Joe Lazzaro identifies McNair as the man who took jazz into space.

McNair was a sometime professional saxophonist who most recently had played tenor for an 18-piece group in Houston, Texas, called the Contra Band. Being both a musician and a scientist, McNair was curious about the effects of space on his ax and so on a mission two years ago took it along. Being allotted a minimum amount of space for his personal effects, McNair brought a bell-shaped soprano sax, the smallest horn he had. He discovered that when the cabin pressure was maintained he had no trouble, but when the cabin was depressurized he found that the horn was harder to blow, he could not hold out a

note for its full value and he developed what Lazzaro calls a "world-class industrial-strength headache." Further, in micro-gravity the spit refused to collect itself in the bell for later dumping, as would be the case on earth. Instead the condensation and saliva accumulated between the key pads and the horn holes and McNair had to stop every ten minutes to swab off each pad to avoid a "bubble effect" sound. He had hoped to broadcast live but NASA nixed the idea, although an audio tape has been preserved. On his last trip, he took the sax along with hopes of blowing live from space. He never got his chance. The scorched and mangled sax was found with all the other debris on the ocean floor. After a memorial service at the Air & Space Museum, the crowd filed quietly out to the sounds of McNair's rendition of "Reach Out and Touch Somebody's Hand" — recorded on that earlier mission high above the earth.

CITY DESK

The case against Marion Barry

BRIAN MOORE

Brian Moore is an independent candidate for mayor. In his announcement address, he made this indictment of the incumbent:

The District and its citizenry have experienced over the past five or six years a growing number of administrative failures and continuing series of scandals in Mayor Marion Barry's two administrations. The fault lies with the administration's inability to effectively plan and administratively manage its numerous city programs and services. The problems have been compounded by the accumulation of wrongdoing, corruption, and government investigations surrounding Mayor Barry, his personal life and his administration.

What exists is a city operating with half-baked programs, knee-jerk solutions, and embarrassing results. Yes, there have been some successful programs, but on the whole, one sees management acting without long-term goals or plans, little follow-up or policing, and lack of accountability on the part of its managers and abdication of responsibility on the part of its leaders. And the result is a pervasive moral vacuum.

The overriding problem in the District of Columbia is the existing system. We have a system that has compromised our leaders. The all important phrase "political and economic survival" has permeated city government at the expense of benefiting and servicing the community, and also at the expense of personal integrity and moral principle.

There is no doubt, Washington, D.C. is also a one-party Democratic town without much active party opposition. Despite this strength, or because of it, the local Democratic party has allowed a city machine to not only exist but to thrive in wrongdoing. Our leadership has

failed to bring us out of this sad and harmful condition.

Let us review the record:

Administrative Problems

Mr. Barry took over the reins of the DC mayoralship in 1978 with hopes of solving many of the District's problems. He said he would take off the boards of the vacant housing stock in the city, he committed himself to creating jobs and protecting the integrity of neighborhoods, and improving public housing and the many administrative services that were becoming worse and worse. Remember his quote about getting rid of "all the bungling, babbling, and bureaucratic malaise in the DC system?" Mr. Barry's promises have just become empty words now.

Some examples of DC's administrative problems are: The Bates Street debacle, the H Street corridor waste, the Blue Plains corruption, the terrible purchasing practices of the city, the public housing crises, lack and loss of moderate housing, the prisons and jails fiasco, the critical report on our mental health system, the repetitive leaky school roofs and financial waste, the municipal building delays and cost overruns, the municipal bond fiasco and near loss of millions of city dollars, the improper forecasting of the budgets, the unfair layoffs of hundreds of city employees, the faulty and wasteful police raids, and on and on and on.

So what happened to Mr. Barry's programs and promises of hope and solutions? He became defensive when his programs of hope and change and improvement were not working. But Mr. Barry had to survive. Therefore, he changed his priorities.

Mayor Marion Barry developed a machine,

he became responsive to monied interests and began to support the projects that he had originally campaigned against.

Examples? His promotion and support of the Georgetown waterfront and the SW international trade center, his reversal and subsequent opposition to the Rhodes Tavern and rent control referenda, and his delays in comprehensive planning. Concurrent with his position changes came over a million dollars in contributions for his reelection campaign in 1982 from mostly the powerful monied interests. There are now indications that this year's campaign may produce the same financial bonanza.

Public & Personal Morality

Concurrent with his administrative problems there began to emerge his personal problems: His former wife, Mary Treadwell, was put in jail for fraud and he testified he knew nothing about it; his friendship with Karen Johnson emerged and her alleged cocaine use and he claimed ignorance; and his most recent experiences with two of his deputy-mayors, Ivanhoe Donaldson and Alphonse Hill, who both resigned-- with one in jail and the other still under federal investigation-- and he knew nothing nor did he assume responsibility for their wrongdoing. One must raise the question of whether he had just looked the other way.

Signs of Intimidation and Coercion

And we also began to see signs of "heavy-handedness" in his administration. Remember the finance department employee who was silenced and threatened with being fired because he had dared to answer a reporter's question about the budget? Mr. Barry used this episode to tell reporters that he wanted his administration to "speak with one voice" and that he was imposing "discipline" on employees. Eligah Rodgers, then city administrator, added that the "DC government decided not to fire [the man] because he 'has learned his lesson.'" Then the mayor issued an order that all employees could not speak with the press without going through their superiors. Mr. Barry subsequently established an office of community affairs where he had "his" people out in the community attending local meetings. The message was not lost to the community activist that these "community liaison representa-

tives" reported directly back to the mayor. We have also seen the coercion that went on against city employees regarding the contracting and check payment methods of Ivanhoe Donaldson, Mathew Shannon and others. Even as far back as 1980 we read that a fireman was passed over for a promotion because he criticized the DC government. The judge in the case said that the fire department's punishment of the individual for speaking out "was not an isolated occurrence, but instead constituted an informal custom or policy of the District of Columbia." The fireman himself testified that Mr. Barry and Mr. Rogers "essentially told those at the meeting that 'they were either on the team or could get off.'"

And there were other areas where DC administrators were quoted that the "administration would play hardball" if members of the Latin community would not keep quiet. The DC medical examiner resigned his job because he said, "city officials exerted 'political pressure' on his decisions as acting chief medical examiner." And the Gutierrez and Frost cases both involved allegations by them of threats and intimidation. The DC director of the Department of Human Services commented at the time of the medical examiner's resignation that "As a city employee, you can't be different." There appears to be an unhealthy and threatening atmosphere amongst DC employees that they dare not speak up or question this administration or its actions for fear of losing their jobs.

Mayor Barry's claim that he did not know nor was responsible for any of his family, friends, and administration's criminal offences, nor had knowledge of any wrongdoings, does not vindicate him from being held accountable for them. Mr. Barry, when he became mayor, accepted the responsibilities that came along with the power and authority of the office. As chief executive officer of this city he has a professional obligation to avoid any and call appearances of impropriety, both publicly and personally. Mr. Barry has failed in that area on both accounts. Being mayor of a city demands a higher responsibility to act as a role model and an example to the electorate-- and especially to the city's youth. Granted, in any administration, there will be some form of malfeasance, but the mayor has to quickly and assertively say that this type of conduct will not be

tolerated-- especially before the press forces him into such a posture. Where was Marian Barry's indignation? Where was his embarrassment and shame when he acknowledged his personal and public connection to such wrongdoing. Mr. Barry, as a public servant, is in serious error and has brought undue harm to this city and to its citizenry. Since no public agency nor the city council has challenged his behavior, it is now up to the electorate to judge the matter.

Mr. Barry has sinned by mission if not by commission. His apparent example and tolerance of such activity may have encouraged other senior staff to follow suit. Any professional in a similar situation would be totally embarrassed by such malfesance and either have stepped down or would have cleaned house long ago.

The Threat to Home Rule

The result has been catastrophic. He has embarrassed not just the city, but more importantly, his actions have besmirched our new District government under home rule.

As a result, the District of Columbia is not only threatened from continuing internal corruption and administrative nightmares, but is now in danger from without by the growing intimidation and interference of the federal government into District affairs. Home rule is being seriously eroded. Special interests must think beyond their own groups' particular interests if we are to survive and move forward with efficiency, dignity and integrity-- and to achieve our full autonomy.

Under a ruling from the director of the DC office of Finance and Ethics (sic), it is all right for corporations to make gifts to the city unless it can be proved the gifts influence an official's decision. The ruling came in a case involving James Touchstone, the city's public works director, who admitted accepting free travel and accommodations from Datacom, a computer firm figuring in the New York City parking ticket scandal. According to Vance, where Touchstone went wrong was in not having Datacom send the expense money directly to the city government and then be reimbursed. Touchstone later reimbursed Datacom and Vance dismissed the matter as a "technical" violation that warranted no action. Vance also said that "There's no illegality if Datacom gives \$1 million to the city. It doesn't mean that public works has prejudice to give Datacom a contract." If all this sounds a little bizarre to you, be comforted with the words of John Malin of the Council on Municipal Performance who says it is unusual for cities to accept gifts from corporations doing business with them.

The Washington Area Child Care Directory lists over 700 child care centers in the area plus more than 50 before and after school programs. Send \$9.95 to Commonwealth Child Care Connections, PO Box 2444, Fairfax, Va. 22031.

DC Common Cause took a poll of its membership and found that a third of them didn't want to do anything about further

self-government at the moment. Twenty-six percent wanted to revive the constitutional amendment campaign (something that doesn't even interest former chief backers of that campaign) and 18% supported statehood. Sixteen percent wanted to support both statehood and the constitutional amendment and 7% had other ideas. Meanwhile, however, CC has formed a statehood committee to give those who want full self-government a group within which to work.

Marion Barry has named Carol Thompson his chief of staff. Thompson was formerly director of the department of consumer and regulatory affairs. What does a chief of staff do? According to hizoner: "She will be the chief facilitator for decision-making at the mayoral level and assure the proper utilization of my time."

The old Greyhound Bus Terminal at 12th & New York was renovated before preservationists took much interest in 20th century structures. But as luck would have it, the renovation only covered the original moderne-style streamlined facade of the 1940s and now the Art Deco Society and the DC Preservation League are seeking landmark status for a structure that is intact but that no one can see -- the first such attempt to preserve a "slip-covered" building in the Washington area. A decision is awaited from the preservation review board.



The selling of Saint E's

SAM SMITH

Washington's developers have their eyes on one of the city's last large parcels available for their exploitation: the 100-acre west campus of Saint Elizabeth's. They have been encouraged by the Barry administration which wants the land used for offices, shops, and housing and by the site itself, of which the hospital's first superintendent said in 1854: "The view which will be enjoyed by the patients comprises all of the cities of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, the heights north of the two former, the Virginia hills on the south, and the Potomac and Eastern Branch for several miles. These are of immense consequence." Further, 19th century attempts to give patients pleasant surroundings have resulted in towering trees of several hundred varieties brought from all over the world.

In a little more than a year from now, the city will assume from the federal government control of Saint E's and it is this transfer that has opened the site to both potential development and intense controversy.

Although the matter has not attracted the attention it deserves — among other things, it has suffered the traditional neglect of anything across the Anacostia River, the decisions about the mental hospital are among the most important the city will make in the months ahead. They are, as well, immensely complex, involving not only development issues, but mental health policy, budgetary priorities, home rule and historic preservation.

What is already clear is that the Barry administration views the transfer firstly as a political plum. How the city's mental health patients and an institution that has long exercised an important role in American treatment of mental problems will fare will depend, in no small amount, on how the politics of the situation are resolved.

Early handwriting on the wall can be found in the list of those invited to participate in the land use task force established by the Barry administration. Included are the executive director of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development corporation; Kenneth Luchs of Shannon & Luchs; developer's architect Ted Marianni; the president of the Union Station Development Corporation; and the vice president of the business group, the Federal City Council.

Virginia Flemming, director of the city's new office of mental health reorganization told the Review's Nick Holdsworth that "It is deliberately intended to be a mix of different points of view. There's a very strong representation of people who understand mental health needs, and there are real estate people who know what it takes to achieve a dream into reality."

The availability of land at Saint E's stems in part from the city's plan to reduce the number of inpatients by 1988 from 1600 to 800. According to Saint E's chief clinical officer, Dr. Bernard Arons, not all these patients will

be transferred to community facilities or treated on an outpatient basis. Several hundred will be moved to nursing homes, presumably on the eastern part of the site. Arons sees this approach as more humane, more cost-effective and more clinically responsible: "We are setting up a system with a whole range of services: day care, crisis care, short-term hospitalization. As a psychiatrist I will have more options. The point of care will now be in the community facilities rather than in the hospital system." He emphasized that the new community care facilities will make the treatment of the mentally ill more flexible and accessible. Those with problems will be able to go to a neighborhood center for care, just as one might go to an ordinary physician.

Besides, Aron argues a point made by others: the reorganization is overdue: "It is an important part of the home rule issue. There is no other city that does not run its own mental health system."

The argument, though, has its doubters. Among them are those who have watched the

deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill contribute directly to the dramatic number of homeless persons in DC and other major cities. And there is the question of whether adequate funds will be made available to support the sort of program that Arons envisions. It is not comforting to hear Flemming say that "there is not enough money in the mental health system for a 100% subsidy of Saint E's," or to have her suggest that in some way the development of the west campus will help sustain the city's mental health program.

While it is possible for this to happen, by the city leasing rather than selling to developers, much as George Washington University has gone into the development business to support its academic activities, it would require a dramatic change of heart by the Barry administration and the city council which traditionally has given away its land assets to developers at fire sale prices.

A group called Friends of Saint Elizabeths is trying to slow down the reorganization so that alternative plans can be drawn up for the

SWAMPPOODLE'S REPORT

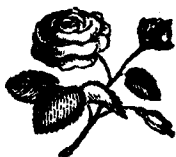
Michael Durso, the principal of Wilson who got into trouble for protesting the failure of the school system to transfer one of his students accused of raping another one, produced this remarkable thought from another public school principal: "I think his present actions are insubordinate. We all must follow the rules. It's not his school; it's a public school, and he is paid to obey the rules."

I pointed out earlier that the sting operation last December, which enticed fugitives with promises of free Redskins tickets, netted the 98 dumbest crooks in town. Those who enjoy comparing the relative virtues of the Big Cheese and the Big Apple should take note that when New York City cops tried a similar ploy, sending out 950 invitations, only 3 fugitives showed up. In addition, three persons who weren't even on the invited list arrived for a free breakfast allegedly with Yankee manager Lou Piniella, a box seat at a Yankees game and a chance for fabulous door prizes. DC's criminal class should be ashamed of its gullibility.

For \$35 you can join the Freeway Singles Club. You get a coded bumper sticker and some "response cards." The way love in the fast lane works is like this: if you see someone with one of the bumper stickers who strikes your fancy you can write a letter to the club with the response card. And vice versa. This is, I'm afraid, a serious operation.

Regardies has done a cost-benefit study of Patrick Ewing and finds that Georgetown University got its money's worth. For a \$48,600 four-year scholarship, REGARDIES estimates that GU basketball ticket revenues went up more than \$3 million during the Ewing years, the university earned almost \$2 million more in television fees, applications went up by over 3,000 bringing in more than \$100,000 just in application fees and if you figure that just ten percent of the increased giving to the school was due to the prominence of the basketball team that's another \$3.4 million. Add in revenues from the three NCAA tournaments and increased revenues from T-shirts, hats, etc, and you get GU with a \$12.4 million profit out of Patrick Ewing.

Joseph Swampoodle
Purveyor of fine
split infinitives
for over 48 years



Roses & Thorns

ROSES TO DC COUNCIL AIDE DICK CLARK suggesting a strategy to deal with notorious senatorial DC busy-body Arlen Specter and his pressure to get the city to build a new prison. Unfortunately, Clark's memo to Wihelmina Rolark leaked out and the wrath of the local and congressional establishment came down on Clark's head, but he told it like it is. Specter is just a modern-day version of Rep. Natcher and Mcmillan and other pre-home rule congressional types who meddled in the city for their personal political gain.

ROSES TO THE MARYLAND SENATE'S JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS COMMITTEE for killing a bill that would make it illegal to sell

records with obscene lyrics to minors. This wonder of latter-day comstockery was just one step away from book burning and wiser heads prevailed.

ROSES TO JUDGE HAROLD H. GREENE for temporarily barring the Potomac Electric Company from a massive new drug-testing program. Green said the program involved "Draconian measures" that would force employees to "undergo invasions of privacy which are almost unheard of in a free society or they will be summarily fired."

ROSES TO DC SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE RONALD WERTHEIM who ruled that the city violated historic preservation and ANC regulations when it built a suicide prevention fence on the Duke Ellington Bridge. Said the plans should have gone to the preservation review board and the ANCs should have gotten 30 days notice. Let's at least try to follow the law, folks.



site. FSE's president, Barbara Bick, who has a 37-year-old daughter with schizophrenia, does not want to see the good Saint E's has done diminished:

"What we see in Saint E's is the kind of community that the mentally ill need. Half our patients are often placed in bad areas because people in nice areas don't like to have the mentally ill. We are doing cruel things to the mentally ill; we are tossing them out into a cruel world. When you are living in an institution you need a community and we do not have the community for people to go to. Saint E's has tremendous resources. We have green grass, theatres, a bakery, workshops."

Bick views Saint E's as preferable not only to community residential facilities (her daughter went into psychotic regression at one) but even to some of the most respected private facilities, which she has also tried. Her organization is not opposed to changes there, but want them to be primarily directed to the best interests of the patients. FSE has developed a proposal with the aid of public interest architect Richard Ridley which reads in part:

"Friends of Saint E's believes that the spacious, historic west campus should become a special community within the community: non-hospital but therapeutic, protected but vitally interacting with its neighborhood and the city. Many of its buildings can be converted into housing for the mentally ill who have special problems establishing sufficient

support systems in less homogeneous communities. Other buildings can be put to a variety of uses to bring the public to the campus and into interaction with the mentally ill.

"Architects tell us that independent apartments, group homes, and unit clusters with common dining and social halls can be competitively designed within the sturdy structures of many of the 80 buildings that dot the campus. Specialized clinics, recreational and educational programs, and job training and rehabilitation programs can also be accommodated.

"The entire Anacostia community can benefit from our proposal. Center Building can be a superb replacement for the Smithsonian's small Anacostia museum. The large auditorium and beautiful old theater can be used by local drama groups, schools and clubs. Other buildings can be converted into craft workshops, art studios, commercial galleries, and shops along the model of Alexandria's Torpedo Factory."

Such a vision would require an investment in mental health care well beyond what the politicians at city hall envision. FSE, recognizing this, wants to find funds outside the city government, including those from corporations, foundations and the federal government. And Virginia Flemming has already entered DC in the running for several million dollars in grants offered by the Robert Wood

Johnson Foundation and HUD for improved services to, and new or renovated housing for, the mentally ill. The program is specifically designed for jurisdictions with large tracts of land where housing for the mentally ill could be built at less cost and with less community resistance than elsewhere.

Adding to the stew-like character of the controversy over Saint E's is the fact that many of the buildings are of considerable historic importance. The institution itself was founded by social reformer Dorothea Dix in 1852 to provide the "most humane care and enlightened curative treatment" of military personnel and DC residents. There are some 130 historic structures on the whole site reflecting various styles including collegiate gothic, victorian gothic and Greek revival. As an historic landmark the plans for Saint E's

have already begun to attract the attention of preservationists.

But all these factors are operating in the context of a city whose politics have been directed towards the most puerile goals, against the caveats of history, good planning, community interests, or human decency. If left to its own devices, the Barry administration is likely to regard Saint E's preeminently as another political goodie to distribute to its friends. The city and some of its most troubled citizens will be the worse for it.

Whether the Barry administration is left to its own devices depends largely on whether others concern themselves, for a change, with what is going on across the Anacostia River.

Friends of Saint Elizabeths can be contacted at 156 F St. SE DC 20003. This article was researched by Nick Holdsworth.

DC Report Card

Here's our scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point for other public positions or actions taken or for a bill introduced. On especially important bills we give or take four points. Listed are the 1985-86 grades and percentile scores. We grade on a curve to make it a bit easier for our politicians. Here are this month's issues:

#1. We short-changed Carol Schwartz on two counts last month and gave her an F when she should have had gotten a D. Firstly, Schwartz gains a point for having not gone to the mayor's birthday party despite the presence of other leading Republicans. She also gains a

point for being a co-sponsor of the tax amnesty bill.

#2. Schwartz also gets a point for legislation that would increase the current income tax exemption from \$750 to \$1080 and the standard deduction from \$1000 to \$2000, both of which would aid low-income taxpayers. Schwartz also has introduced legislation that would reduce the sales tax from 6% to 5% arguing that increased sales would make up the loss produced by cutting the rate. We don't know if her figures are right so we'll hold off on that one, but she does make a strong argument: a healthier than expected economy should bring in unanticipated revenues equal to more than \$200 million over the rate of inflation. Says

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	'85-86 %	'85-86 GRADE
CLARKE			2	1	2	100%	A+
MASON			2	1	2	100%	A+
WILSON			2		2	85%	A-
ROLARK			2	1	2	78%	B+
SMITH			2	1	2	73%	B
SHACKLETON			2	1	-2	68%	B
WINTER			2	1	2	34%	D
JARVIS			2	1		24%	D-
BARRY			2			20%	D-
SCHWARTZ	2	1	-2	-1	-2	12%	F
RAY			2	1	-2	10%	F
KANE			-2	1	-2	7%	F
CRAWFORD			-2		-2	2%	F
SPAULDING			2	1	-2	0%	F

The Revitalized and the Removed

It is clear that the city of Washington has benefited substantially from the effects of neighborhood revitalization. Its older inner neighborhoods, once areas left behind by thousands of white middle-class families, have become magnets for a new generation of such households. They have attracted new talent and ability to the city and doubtless new wealth. The revitalizing areas have helped to offset the drain of middle-class families to the suburbs, a trend which declined during the 1970s. In addition, these households have been responsible for making monumental improvements in the quality of the city's building stock.

But these gains have come at a not insubstantial price. White people have benefited disproportionately from the revitalization. The city's supply of nonsubsidized low- and moderate-income housing has been diminished. And overcrowding for blacks may have been increased in sections of the revitalizing and non-revitalizing areas of the city.

Few observers would argue it is the District government's responsibility to discourage neighborhood reinvestment. Yet, some could agree perhaps that it is incumbent on the District to see that the substantial fiscal benefits accruing to the city from rising property tax revenues are harnessed so that those most hurt by revitalization can benefit. The District of Columbia has gained millions of dollars in new tax revenues from the revitalizing areas; would it not be appropriate to dedicate a portion of these funds to provide housing for displacees? A technique similar to tax increment financing could be employed to raise revenues for a "Displacement Relief Fund." The fund could target subsidies for poorer households in revitalizing areas such as the Shaw/14th Street corridor or in neighborhoods north of Massachusetts Avenue to the west of Union Station. These funds could be employed to leverage financing from private sources through interest subsidies and mortgage guarantees. They could be used to provide rent supplements or to assist needy families in financing the down payment to purchase a house or an interest in a tenant-owned cooperative.

Whatever the mechanism, it is clear that the District has not recognized the probable links between neighborhood revitalization and the city's overall housing conditions. While the pace of neighborhood reinvestment has slowed in recent years, there is little doubt that the process will continue to spread, further affecting the city's poorer families. There is still time for the District to recognize this fact and to learn from the recent past. — *Dennis E. Gale.*

Dennis E. Gale is an associate professor in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, George Washington University. From "Population and Housing Shifts in Washington's Revitalizing Neighborhoods: 1970-1980."

Schwartz: "It seems that when times are bad we at best hold District tax rate level, but when times are good we return none of these revenue increases to our over-burdened taxpayers."

#3. The council voted funds to have UDC take over Antioch Law School. This is a wise move and those who are worried about the cost can probably find revenues to balance it out just in present waste at UDC.

#4. The council approved a resolution supporting a "mutual and verifiable nuclear weapons test ban." In a voice vote, Schwartz was the only one to express opposition.

#5. Efforts to kill an amendment by John Wilson that would grant a cost of living increase to those on public assistance were defeated. The council split evenly on this with Jarvis voting present. Those who opposed the tabling get two points.

Drop-outs and inmates

Low educational levels in the District of Columbia may have more of an impact on high incarceration rates than previously believed, the National Moratorium on Prison Construction reports.

Washington, ranks ahead of the 50 states in high school dropout rates and also leads the nation in rates of incarceration, with over 1300 per 100,000 persons behind bars. The national average is 188 per 100,000.

Although the District of Columbia's college-bound students have improved academically on college admissions tests in recent years, increasing numbers of students are dropping out of high school. According to the U.S. Department of Education, only 55 percent of



AN ENDORSEMENT

FOR CITY COUNCIL CHAIR
DAVE CLARKE

As readers have gathered from our voting record, Dave Clarke is now one of the best members of the city council. It wasn't always the case. In 1983 we gave him a 20% rating, but in 1984 it rose to 60% and in 1985 he scored a perfect 100%.

Mind you, these scores are based on a curve and the competition in the city council is not much. The council has shown less and less interest in the concerns of ordinary people of DC and has tilted increasingly towards the desires of the large special interest groups, particularly the development lobby. Further, the council has shown a strong tendency to over-regulate and over-legislate while at the same time doing a poor job of overseeing the mayor's operations and budgets. In all of this Clarke must share the blame.

It must also be said that Clarke is not always the world's nicest politician, even when he is on your side. One hears complaints of his arrogant and off-putting attitude towards constituents.

But the question must also be asked: compared to what? In DC's politics these days it is not a voter's market and in comparison to all but a handful of city politicians Clarke is clearly outstanding.

And, from time to time, he has circled the council wagons against repeated assaults by the mayor, almost invariably to the benefit of the city. For example, the council has held off attacks on general public assistance, housing and employment programs; it has increased funding for education; and has taken a more realistic view towards the long-term deficit than has hiszonar.

Further, under Clarke's leadership Barry has not once been able to sustain a veto of legislation approved by the council.

Clarke apparently yearned to take on the mayor directly. He said recently that "if I could run for mayor without giving up the chairmanship I would do so." But he wisely assessed the politics of the situation, including the likelihood of straw candidates to confuse the race, and decided to run again for council chair.

Despite the foregoing caveats, there is no one on the horizon who could match Clarke for the job in terms of skill, integrity and politics and the Review happily endorses him for another term.

PREVIOUS ENDORSEMENTS
Ward Three Council: Mark Plotkin

the District's 9th grade students will finish the 12th grade, a slight growth in the drop out rate since 1982.

The D.C. Department of Corrections reports alarmingly low educational levels among incarcerated persons. According to a 1985 survey, only 39 percent of D.C.'s jail and prison residents claimed to be high school graduates. In some units of Lorton Prison, high school dropouts make up as much as 70-80 percent of all prisoners.

The Department of Corrections survey warns that its data on educational attainment is self-reported, and "therefore might not be entirely reliable," raising the likelihood that educational levels among incarcerated persons might actually be lower than the survey indicates.

Furthermore. . .

Just when you thought it was safe to forget about Sterling Tucker, word comes that he has been given a contract for up to \$100,000 for "management services" on behalf of the lottery board. The board selected him unanimously over four other bidders. But when the Post asked for a copy of the contract, the board's director said "We can't give you a copy of the contract now. The work plan is being worked on now. The tasks to be performed are flowing from the general statement." In the past, Tucker has been awarded several non-competitive contracts with the board some of which have been criticized by the city auditor. What's Tucker meant to do for his up-to-\$100,000? Well, according to the request for bids, he's to review board policies, evaluate the functions of the executive director and senior staff, evaluate management policies and develop a "research and training function." Sounds like fun. Besides the pay's okay.

It is hard to keep up with all the ways the mayor and city council are trying to nickel and dime money out of taxpayers while keeping "taxes" down. Latest example is Barry's proposal to increase the boot-removal fee from \$25 to \$50. Frank Smith, apparently thinking he was being helpful, suggested that the rush-hour rangers could raise more money by booting people after only three unpaid tickets, instead of four as is presently the case. But then he added: "I think the public is getting the feeling that we are taking advantage of them with this program. I have some sensitivity to the public view that this is a nuisance and

that this is a way of giving them a back-door tax increase."

The DC Board of Elections has approved the wording of a proposed initiative that would reduce automatic rent increases to one-third of the annual consumer price index. The initiative, sponsored by Ward 4 tenant activist Dominic Brown and others, would have to receive the required number of petition signatures to be placed on the November ballot.

Marion Barry is worse than No Turn on Red. Everywhere you want to turn, there he is. He even popped up with a special message about the wonderful things he is doing in the form sent out to verify qualification for the homestead exemption. This message, incidentally, included this significant phrase, "As Chief Executive Office of your government, which can be considered the equivalent of a Fortune 500 corporation ... " This may explain Barry's disinterest with anything that doesn't bring in money.

The DC Youth Orchestra has been invited to play in China, Japan and Hong Kong this summer. This remarkable group of young musicians will need to raise close to \$3000 each to make the trip. Contributions can be sent to the orchestra, c/o Post Office Box 96198, DC 20011.

The Park Service's new restrictive regulations on demonstrations in Lafayette Park have gone into effect and the local ACLU finds them unjustified, onerous and in violation of the First Amendment, but the group says it will wait for an actual enforcement attempt before it goes to court over the matter.

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